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ANDHRA SCULPTURES

by
Sri O. C. GANGOLY,
Calcutta



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B L E S S I N G S

It gives me immense pleasure to see the book Andhra Sculptures, written by erudite scholar, O.C.Gangoly, is reprinted. It is a dire necessity to reprint such books which contain wealth of information about Andhra sculptures. Andhra Pradesh, which is bountiful in Buddhist establishments and sculptures, delineates Buddhist art, architecture and sculpture in its totality. The sculptures narrate symbolic, synoptic and narrative accounts and reflect in exactitude the Buddhist philosophy and way of life in its entirety. Pictorial representations of the four great events, eight miracles, episodes from the previous reincarnations of the Buddha and the wheel of life or other symbolic diagrams of the law gave those who exhibited them the opportunity to narrate the subjects at length and to emphasize the ineluctable operation of Karma. As visualized they clarify verbal accounts of the life of the Buddha. In the present book, O.C.Gangoly recounts the symbolic and anthropomorphic forms of Buddha while taking stock of the Buddhist monuments of Andhra in its entirety. This splendid work of O.C.Gangoly deserves the reprinting as it is an "ever lasting and ever interesting subject" for the students of Buddhism. I am glad the Department of Archaeology & Museums have undertaken the onerous task of reprinting this splendid book under the stewardship of Sri N.R.V.Prasad, M.A., Director of Archaeology & Museums, and thereby yeoman service has been done to all of those who are interested in the Buddhist studies. I convey my best wishes to the Director, Department of Archaeology & Museums, and all other in the Project, whole heartedly. I look forward for the reprinting of many more similar books of great Academic and historical value in future.

HYDERABAD

9.3.1994.

P. V. Ranga Rao
(DR. P. V. RANGA RAO)

FOREWORD

The study of rise and fall of Buddhism in India is fascinating and needs tremendous indepth study of the original sources. It is one of the great religions of the world which enjoyed towering popularity among the people of the diverse culture at large. After its heydays in India, it spread towards east and southeast, contributing for the spiritual unity in Asia and its neighbouring islands. As Thapar has rightly pointed out "of all the religious remains of the early historical period so far discovered in India, those of the Buddhists are by far the largest .. ". This is more true in respect of Andhra desa. According to Panikkar, the Buddhist period of Andhra desa is of supreme importance as "the Neo Aryan civilization in the south ". Buddhism appears to have entered Andhra desa from two different ancient trade routes, one passing along the east coast from Orissa and the other from midnorth to the south. The second route which is from Kosala, Vidarbha to Andhra was traversed by Yuwan Chang in the 6th century A.D. On its eastern trade route, the Hinayana phase of Buddhism has prominently flourished in some of the Salla Viharas noticed at Salihundam, Bavikonda, Thotlakonda, Pavuralakonda and Gopalapatnam in Vizag District of Andhra Pradesh. Recent excavations have established that the Mahayana phase penetrated into the vicinity but ultimately attained its supremacy in the Krishna basin. As a result of this we come across excellent specimens of Buddha idols and the associated Jataka stories nicely delineated on marble in a majority of the Buddhist Kshetras in the Krishna Godavary basin. In fact Buddhism received royal patronage under the Satavahanas, Ikshvakus and the Vishnukundins, though by and large it was assimilated in the cultural ethos of even the common man. The inscriptional data recovered from several Buddhist sites like Amaravati, Jaggayyapeta, Ramireddipally and Nagarjunakonda are only a few examples to quote.

The Department of Archaeology & Museums, Andhra Pradesh, under the kind patronage of the State Government has to its credit some very prestigious Publications namely, Early History of Deccan, Glimpses of Buddhism, and many others. "*Andhra Sculptures*" by an eminent scholar Late Sri O.C. Gangoly, originally published in 1973, falls in line with the above publications which, by virtue of its scholarly treatment, has very quickly gone out of stock. In pursuance of the pressure and demand from the scholars in particular and students of Buddhist studies in general, the Department had to respond by reprinting it.

I thank Dr. P.V. Ranga Rao, M.A., Ph.D. (Pol. Science), M.A. (Indology), L.L.B., B.J., Hon'ble Minister for Education & Archaeology and Museums and Sri S. Kasipandian, IAS, Principal Secretary to Government, Education Department, for their kind approval in bringing out this publication during this year. I also thank M/s. Prudhvi Graphics, R.T.C. 'X' Roads, Hyderabad for neatly reprinting it in a record time.

N.R.V. PRASAD, M.A.,
DIRECTOR

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I. THE CHARACTER OF BUDDHIST ART

In order to follow the career of Buddhist Sculpture in the Andhra Desa and its peculiar contribution to Buddhist Art, it is necessary to understand the general character and contents of early Buddhist Art in the Northern Centres of Buddhist Culture, and to study and analyse the essential elements and tendencies of early Buddhist religious doctrines and its relations to Art.

From the point of view of the early phase of Hinayana, Art and the cultivation of Beauty were regarded as inimical to the practice of spiritual discipline, for it was through the gates of renunciation of all sensuous experiences that Arhatta (Sainthood), Buddhahood (state of spiritual consciousness), or Nibbana (the final emancipation from life) could be achieved.

In Hinayana doctrines, therefore, there was no room for any form of the Visual Arts. From this point of view, artists were properly regarded as purveyors of sensuous luxuries, harmful to spiritual discipline, and are looked down upon in the Visuddhi-magga as undesirable stimulators "of sensations excited by forms and other objects of sense." For like reason, the Cullavagga¹ forbids the Brethren to permit the monastery walls to be adorned with figures of men and women. And the Dasa Dhama Sutta asserts that "Beauties are nothing to me, neither the beauty of the body, nor that which come from dress." In fact, in the 'Sutta of the Five Bolts',² the Buddha discusses the five bondages of the mind (*cetaso-viniwandha*) from which every monk has to free himself in order to achieve the highest goal: the attachments or desires for (1) sexual pleasure (*kāma*); (2) the body (*kāya*); (3) visible forms (*rūpa*); (4) wealth (*artha*); and (5) superhuman powers (*devatva*). The third bondage relates to the fascination of the Visual Arts (*rūpa-avita-rāga*). In the same text³ the five sources of sensuous reactions (*kāma-guna*), include the forms which are apprehended by the eyes (*cakkhu-vijñeyārūpā*). In a slightly different form, Sariputta has enumerated the Five Attachments to Existence, viz., the visible shapes, feeling, perception, plastic forces and consciousness. Indeed in a passage in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, the Master asserts that it is "by complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to these lower worlds of lust, that one becomes an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to return."⁴ The prejudice against the sensuous forms of the Visual Arts in Hinayanist dogmas is further illustrated by the ban placed against Pictorial Art (*citta-kamma*). Thus in the *Milindapanho*, amongst the list of undesirable gifts are included productions of Pictorial Art. "There are ten sorts of gifts, Nāgasēna, in the world that are commonly disapproved of as gifts. And what are the ten? Strong drink, Nāgasēna, and festivals in high places, and women and buffaloes and suggestive paintings (*citta-kamma-dānam*) and

1. *Cullavagga*, Vi, 3.2.

2. *Celokhila Sutta*, *Majjhima Nikāya*, pp. 101-104.

3. *Ibid.* p. 173.

4. *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, II, 7, p. 76 of the text.

weapons, and poison, and chains, and fowls, and swine, and false weights and measures. All these, Nāgasēna, are disapproved of in the world as gifts, and those who give such presents become liable to rebirth in states of woe."⁵

In a passage in the Sutta-nipāta⁶ it is pointed out that the 'objects of senses are variegated, sweet and attractive, and in their transfigured forms pulverize the mind' (*Kāma hicitrā madhurā manoramā virūpa-rupena mathenti cittam*). In the same text there are numerous other passages which preach against snares of Beauty.⁷

In this Doctrine of Asceticism, there could be no room for the sensuous forms of Art. The Buddhist Hinayanist doctrine, indeed, definitely shuts the door against any form of Visual Arts. In the legends of the Buddha recorded in the Tibetan Khagyur, there is a story of Nāgā Nanda, a Buddhist patriarch who refused to permit an actor to weave the incidents of the Buddha's life into the artistic form of a drama to earn a living. "Wretched man", he said, "do you wish us to portray the Teacher for you? Begone, for, I will tell you nothing." The Hinayanist abhorrence not only existed against the Plastic and Dramatic Arts but appears also to have existed against the artistic frames of poetical composition. In the Brahma-jāla Sutta the Buddha preaches against the sensuous appeals of lyrical creations of the poets (*Kāvya-dharma*), and the prohibition most probably also covered the forms of Epic Poetry. For Aśvaghoṣa in publishing his *Saundarānanda Kāvya* in the artistic, that is to say, in the same sensuous form and convention of an epic composition had to offer elaborate apologies for using the incidents of the life of the Buddha as material for his Epic: "This poem, dealing thus with the theme of Salvation, has been composed in the form of classical poetry not to give pleasure (*narataye*), but to further the attainment of tranquility (*ityeṣā vyupāsānte*) and with the intention of attracting hearers devoted to other topics" (Johnston).

This was the characteristic attitude of the Hīnayānists towards all the Arts. And under the cloud of such Puritanical dogmas no Art, not to speak of Buddhist Art, could come into existence or flourish.

Fortunately, the Buddha Himself had indirectly provided an opportunity for the artist to function, to set up memorial monuments primarily of spiritual, if not, of artistic significance. In the famous dialogue with Ānanda, shortly before His death, related in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttānta*, after indicating the four places which should be visited by the community with feelings of reverence, the place where the *Tathāgata* was born, where he attained supreme insight, where he first turned the Wheel of Law, and, where he attained final despiration - places which stir up deep feelings of emotion (*Samvejantīyāni śhanāni*), the Buddha recommends that 'at the four cross-roads a stūpa should be erected to a *Tathāgata*, and that whosoever shall place on the stupa garlands, or perfumes, or incense (or paint, v.r.), or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart - that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy'.⁸ He

5. Rhys Davids, Questions of King Milinda, Sacred Book of the East, Vol. 36, Part II p. 121. "Dasa kho pan' imani bhante Nāgēsana danavi loke adana saṁmatāni, yo tāni dānāni deti so apayagani hoti, katamani dāsa; majjadanam bhante Nāgēsana loke adāna Sammatani, yo tāni dānam deti so apayagami hoti; Samajjadanani pe-itthidani citta-kamma-dānani" etc., (Trenikner's text, p. 278).

6. Sutta-nipāta (T.S., II, p. 50, p. 264).

7. Ibid., p. 943, rūpe senhani ra kubbaye; p. 872, Rūpe vibhūtena phusanti phassa; p. 867 Rūpesu disva vibhavanī bhavan ca;

8. Rhys Davids, Dialogue of the Buddha, II, p. 156.

further avers that amongst three other distinguished personages, a *Tathāgata* who has attained supreme consciousness, deserves a stupa (*thūpārha*). Yet, in the same breath, he utters a caution that paying homage to the shrine of the Buddha must not excuse the monk from his own spiritual exercises, that is to say, the first is no substitute for the second. "Hinder not yourselves, Ānanda, by honouring the remains (*śarīra-pūjā*) of the *Tathāgata*. Be zealous, I beseech you, Ānanda, in your own behalf."⁹ Yet this setting up of stūpas or caityas was not a new Buddhist innovation. It was indeed a new application of an ancient Indian practice of paying homage to the memory of great personages. Shrines (*caityas*) existed already for the worship of *Yakṣhas* as tutelary deities in various parts of India long before the advent of the Buddha. Every tribe (*gaṇa*) and province (*janapada*) had sacred shrines (*caityas*) of their own which they were required to honour, worship and support. The Vajjian tribes, for instance, appear to have maintained a series of such shrines and the Buddha while staying at Vaiśālī taught the Vajjians the seven conditions of welfare, one of which was the support of their own tribal shrines: "The Vajjians will surely prosper as long as they honour, esteem, revere, and support Vajjian shrines (*vajjicetiyanī*) in town or in country." The Śākya tribes appear, likewise, to have had their tribal shrines one of which was the caitya of the Yakṣa named "*Śākya-vardhana*" (the Increaser of the prosperity of the *Śākyas*) to whom the Buddha was presented soon after His birth to obtain the blessing of the tutelary deity. Numerous other shrines are referred to by the Buddha in His discourses: "Oh! Ānanda, *Vaiśālī* is beautiful and beautiful are the *Udena*, *Gotamaka*, *Sattambaka*, *Bahuputta*, *Sāranadada*, and *Cāpala* caityas." Two other caityas, those of Gautama-nyagrodha and Makuta-vandhana, are referred to in the *Divyāvadāna*. We have, therefore, numerous evidences of the existence of non-Buddhist shrines, and the suggestions for raising stūpas or caityas in honour of the Buddha Himself were only a Buddhist application of already existing pre-Buddhist practices.

Though assenting to the suggestion of raising of memorial mounds after his death, the Buddha had throughout His life condemned and rebuked the tendency on the part of His disciples and devotees to build up round His personality a cult of personal worship and to check the popular inclination to worship Him as a personal god, as a refuge of salvation. He had, throughout, insisted on the significance of His teachings to be followed as the only means of attaining the *summum bonum* of *Nirvāṇa* through personal efforts, by individual spiritual exercises through *saṁādhi* (contemplation and meditation). He emphasized on the necessity of earnest contemplative exercises (*āraddha-vīriyā*) personal endeavour as the source of spiritual energy not by the worship of any symbols or images of the Buddha. This is very clearly insisted on in a passage in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*. "Therefore, O! Ānanda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye your own refuge. Hold fast to the doctrine as your Light, fast to doctrine as your Refuge, look not for refuge to anyone else besides yourselves,"¹⁰ thus prohibiting any suggestions for any personal devotion to the Master.

This attitude justified the Hīnayāna prohibition against the practice of any form of personal devotion. It was His words and not His image which deserved reverence and adoration. But the popular tendency even during the lifetime of the Buddha has been to pay homage to His personality. This is evidenced by several references in the legends recorded in the Jātakas, as also in the Avadanas. The most significant evidence which appears to bear the stamp of authenticity of an actual occurrence is that of the *Kalingabōdhi Jātaka*.¹¹ Crowds of lay devotees who would come with presents of flowers to pay their

9. Ibid., p. 154.

10. *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, II, p. 26.

11. *Kalinga Bodhi Jātaka*, T.IV, 228.

personal tributes to the Buddha had to be sent away, if the Buddha was otherwise engaged, or away preaching elsewhere. And Ānanda, wished to set up at Jetavana a 'Hall of Fragrance' (*gandhamālādi*) when they could not get an access to the Buddha. This shrine was thus to become a 'place of worship' (*pujāniya-ṭhāna*). The Master does not seem very much to approve of this course. In the very significant discourse He teaches Ānanda, distinction between the varieties of caityas (shrines) viz., (1) those of the body (*sāritrika*), e.g. bodily relics such as bone, hairs, nails, (2) those of association (*pāribhogika*) such as head-dress, garments, bowls, or the Tree under which He achieved *samādhi*, (3) those prescribed as memorial monuments (*uddesika*) which may or may not enshrine a bodily relic. On this occasion, the Buddha only approved of the setting up of an associated symbol as an object of reverence and worship, viz., he assented that it is 'only the great Wisdom-Tree (*Mahābodhi-rukkha*), that has been associated with a Buddha is fit to be a caitya, whether the Buddha be still living, or Absolutely Extinguished.' To this Ānanda immediately responded by a resolution to plant a tree at the gate of the *Jetavana* monastery by fetching a seed from the Mahābodhi (at Gaya) to which resolution the Buddha gave His blessing ("Sādhu, Ānanda, ropehi"). Ānanda caused a new festival to be inaugurated with the help of the prince of Kośala called the "Day of Festival of the Bodhi-Tree" (*Bodhimaha*). Thus the cult of the Bodhi-Tree came to be marked as a special religious observance of the Buddhists.

King Milinda, in the course of his discussion with Nāgasena, had questioned the validity of honoring the relics of the Buddha after His *Nirvāṇa*, Milinda was puzzled by a dilemma—if the Buddha had really quite passed away, what is the good of paying honour to His relics? Nāgasena said to him, "The Blessed one, O King, is entirely set free (from life). And the Blessed one accepts no gifts. If gods or men put up a building to contain the jewel treasure of the relics of a Tathāgata who does not accept their gift, still by that homage paid to the attainment of the supreme good under the form of the jewel treasure of His wisdom do they themselves attain to one or other of the three glorious states (*tiṣṣo sampattiyo*). There are other reasons too. For, "Gods and men by offering reverence to the relics and the jewel treasure of the wisdom of a Tathāgata, though he has died away and accept it not, can cause goodness to arise in them and by that goodness can assuage and can allay the fever and the torment of the threefold fire." And even if the Buddha has passed away, the possibility of receiving the three attainments is not removed. "Beings oppressed by the sorrow of becoming can, when they desire the attainments, still receive them by means of the jewel treasure of His relics and of His doctrines, discipline and teaching. . . . Like the seeds which through the earth attain to such developments are the gods and men who, through the jewel treasures of the relics and the wisdom of Tathāgata—though he has passed away and consent not to it—being firmly rooted by the roots of merit, become like unto trees casting a goodly shade by means of the trunk of contemplation, the sap of the true doctrine, and branches of righteousness, and bearing the flowers of emancipation, and the fruits of monkhood. Therefore, is it, great King, that acts done to the Tathāgata, notwithstanding his having passed away and not accepting them, are still of value and bear fruit."¹²

This, then, is the justification of setting up stūpas to commemorate and to honour the Blessed one, as given in the *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta* and the *Milinda-panho*.

It is difficult to cite any text recommending the spiritual efficacy of setting up stūpas, immediately following the *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta*. The stūpa-worshippers must have had a special literature of their

12. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, S.B.E., XXXV, Part I, pp. 148-151.
AS-2x

own which is now lost, or perhaps imbedded in latter literature of the Mahasāṅghikas. Thus, we come upon a string of archaic texts in that huge and confused compilation called *Mahāvastu* embodying laudatory recommendations of honouring, circumambulating, and decorating the stūpas set up in honour of the Buddha (variously designated as *Loka-nātha*, *Loka-nāyaka*, *Śasta*, and *Jina*). "He who carries a piece of brick to earn merit for the caitya of the Lord succeeds in abjuring malodours and acquires a body fragrant like the sandalwood."¹³ "Verily he will never become blind or lame even in countless ages, who cultivating the heart of wisdom venerates the stūpa of the Teacher." "One cannot exhaust in countless ages by recitation the virtues of a man who circumambulates the stūpa of the Lord of the World (*Loka-nātha*). Indeed, several verses are devoted in describing the different merits that accrue to one who honours the stūpa by circumambulation (*stūpam-kṛtvā pradakṣinam*). For each different form of tributes paid to a stūpa, a different order of merit is prescribed. Thus a string of verses describes the merit that accrues to one who throws a garland of flowers on the stupa; such merit includes a place in the Heaven of Thirty-three Gods (*trayastrimsam sa gacchati*). To the giver of a series of festoons (*paṭṭa-dāma*) on a stūpa accrue a series of merits which include an immunity from sorrow (*Śokam vā śoka-vairāgyam-na so jāti nigacchati*). "He who decorates the stūpa with a manner of garlands (*mālā-vihāra*) becomes a king." "He who honours a caitya of a Jina by incense and fragrance secures perpetual happiness of mind and enjoyment of the senses."¹⁴ "He who sets up a flag (*patāka*) on the caitya of the Lord inspires rhythmic activity in the World of the Buddhas and he is worshipped by all."¹⁵

A group of verses is devoted to reciting the merit of one who sets up even a single lamp on the stūpa of the Buddha.¹⁶ Almost a like number of verses is devoted to reciting the merits of one who decorates (*alam-kṛtvā*) and makes a caitya of the Jina 'beautiful to look at' (*subha-darsanīyam*) by the gift of an umbrella.¹⁷ A variety of merits accrue to one who celebrates the worship of the caitya of a Jina by the playing of musical instruments.¹⁸

A special series of virtues are reserved for those who honour the stūpa with fragrant - paste.¹⁹ The text also prescribes merits for decorating the stūpa, with special kinds of decorations called 'kāriṣi' (*kāriṣi datvā jina-cetiyeṣu*) and *jāla* (*choretvā jālam jina-cetiyeṣu*). As Senart has pointed out, the *Jālaka* referred to here may be compared with the *muttakinkiṇi jālaka* ("fringes with golden borders tinkling with pearls") which the *Mahāvamsa*²⁰ suggests is suspended from the reliquaries. If one is unable to honour a stūpa by indulging in the expense of a garland, or other presents, one can acquire merit 'by removing tarnished flowers from the stūpa'.²¹ Similarly, if one cleanses or renovates²² a stūpa of

13. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 386, 4-7; "Istikagrihya Bhagavati cetiyesu, puṇyasyārthāya nuro cetidhareya na tasyo jātu amanojna gandhari kāvasya lābhe chandanasya".
14. *Ibid.* p. 374, lines 21-24, "na kasya-cid bhavati pradusta-citto na bhogahanir bhavati kadācit na tasya nidho bhavati jnāsyā dhūpetya (?) gandhari jina-cetiyeṣu".
15. *Ibid.* p. 375, lines 9-12, "patākani datva Bhagavato cetiyesu janayet chandani kathamasmi Buddha-loke so pūjaniye bhavati janatya carautu sresṭhe jina carikaya".
16. *Ibid.* p. 379, "Na (?) Buddha stūpe dhārvet eka-dīpāni".
17. *Ibid.* pp. 381-383.
18. *Ibid.* p. 382-383; "vadetva vadvani jina-cetiyeṣu".
19. *Ibid.* p. 388, II, 8-10, "Gandharu lepam dadiyan dadyat yo stūpe".
20. *Mahāvamsa*, XXX, 66.
21. *Ibid.* p. 393, "Yo jīrna-pushpāni apanayet cetiyeṣu".
22. Speyer, No. 54, pp. 307-309, like the lady in the story of the *Śrīmatī Avadani*.

personal tributes to the Buddha had to be sent away, if the Buddha was otherwise engaged, or away preaching elsewhere. And Ānanda, wished to set up at Jetavana a 'Hall of Fragrance' (*gandhamālādi*) when they could not get an access to the Buddha. This shrine was thus to become a 'place of worship' (*pūjāniya-ṭṭhāna*). The Master does not seem very much to approve of this course. In the very significant discourse He teaches Ānanda, distinction between the varieties of caityas (shrines) viz., (1) those of the body (*sāritrika*), e.g. bodily relics such as bone, hairs, nails, (2) those of association (*pāribhogika*) such as head-dress, garments, bowls, or the Tree under which He achieved *samādhi*, (3) those prescribed as memorial monuments (*uddesika*) which may or may not enshrine a bodily relic. On this occasion, the Buddha only approved of the setting up of an associated symbol as an object of reverence and worship, viz., he assented that it is 'only the great Wisdom-Tree (*Mahābodhi-rukka*), that has been associated with a Buddha is fit to be a caitya, whether the Buddha be still living, or Absolutely Extinguished.' To this Ānanda immediately responded by a resolution to plant a tree at the gate of the Jetavana monastery by fetching a seed from the Mahābodhi (at Gaya) to which resolution the Buddha gave His blessing ("Sādhu, Ānanda, ropehi"). Ānanda caused a new festival to be inaugurated with the help of the prince of Kōśāla called the "Day of Festival of the Bodhi-Tree" (*Bodhimaha*). Thus the cult of the Bodhi-Tree came to be marked as a special religious observance of the Buddhists.

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It is difficult to cite any text recommending the spiritual efficacy of setting up stūpas, immediately following the *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta*. The stūpa-worshippers must have had a special literature of their

12. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, S.B.E., XXXV, Part I, pp. 148-151.

own which is now lost, or perhaps imbedded in latter literature of the Mahasāṅghikas. Thus, we come upon a string of archaic texts in that huge and confused compilation called *Mahāvastu* embodying laudatory recommendations of honouring, circumambulating, and decorating the stūpas set up in honour of the Buddha (variously designated as *Loka-nātha*, *Loka-nāyaka*, *Śasta*, and *Jina*). "He who carries a piece of brick to earn merit for the caitya of the Lord succeeds in abjuring malodours and acquires a body fragrant like the sandalwood."¹³ "Verily he will never become blind or lame even in countless ages, who cultivating the heart of wisdom venerates the stūpa of the Teacher." "One cannot exhaust in countless ages by recitation the virtues of a man who circumambulates the stūpa of the Lord of the World (*Loka-nātha*). Indeed, several verses are devoted in describing the different merits that accrue to one who honours the stūpa by circumambulation (*stūpam-kṛtvā pradakṣinam*). For each different form of tributes paid to a stūpa, a different order of merit is prescribed. Thus a string of verses describes the merit that accrues to one who throws a garland of flowers on the stupa; such merit includes a place in the Heaven of Thirty-three Gods (*trayastrimśam sa gacchati*). To the giver of a series of festoons (*patā-dāma*) on a stūpa accrue a series of merits which include an immunity from sorrow (*śokam vā śoka-vairāgyam-na so jāti nigacchati*). "He who decorates the stūpa with a manner of garlands (*mālā-vihāra*) becomes a king." "He who honours a caitya of a Jina by incense and fragrance secures perpetual happiness of mind and enjoyment of the senses."¹⁴ "He who sets up a flag (*patāka*) on the caitya of the Lord inspires rhythmic activity in the World of the Buddhas and he is worshipped by all."¹⁵

A group of verses is devoted to reciting the merit of one who sets up even a single lamp on the stūpa of the Buddha.¹⁶ Almost a like number of verses is devoted to reciting the merits of one who decorates (*alam-kṛtvā*) and makes a caitya of the Jina 'beautiful to look at' (*subha-darsanīyam*) by the gift of an umbrella.¹⁷ A variety of merits accrue to one who celebrates the worship of the caitya of a Jina by the playing of musical instruments.¹⁸

A special series of virtues are reserved for those who honour the stūpa with fragrant - paste.¹⁹ The text also prescribes merits for decorating the stūpa, with special kinds of decorations called 'kāriṣi' (*kāriṣi datvā jinacetiyeṣu*) and *jāla* (*choretvā jālam jina-cetiyeṣu*). As Senart has pointed out, the *Jālaka* referred to here may be compared with the *muttakinkiṇi jālaka* ("fringes with golden borders tinkling with pearls") which the *Mahāvamsa*²⁰ suggests is suspended from the reliquaries. If one is unable to honour a stūpa by indulging in the expense of a garland, or other presents, one can acquire merit 'by removing tarnished flowers from the stūpa'.²¹ Similarly, if one cleanses or renovates²² a stūpa of

13. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 386, 4-7; "Istikagrihya Bhagavati cetiyeṣu, puṇyasyārthāya nuro cetidhareya na tasyo jātu amanojna gandhari kāvasya labhe chandanasya".

14. *Ibid.* p. 374, lines 21-24, "na kasya-cid bhavati pradakṣa-citto na bhogahanir bhavati kadācit na tasya nidho bhavati jñāsyā dhūpetya (?) gandhari jina-cetiyeṣu".

15. *Ibid.* p. 375, lines 9-12, "patākani datva Bhagavato cetiyeṣu janayet chandani kathamasmī Buddha-loke so pūjāniye bhavati janatya carautu sresṭhe jina carikaya".

16. *Ibid.* p. 379, "Na (?) Buddha stūpe dhārvet eka-dipāni".

17. *Ibid.* pp. 381-383.

18. *Ibid.* p. 382-383; "vadetva vadvani jina-cetiyeṣu".

19. *Ibid.* p. 388, II, 8-10, "Gandharu lepam dadiyan dadyat yo stūpe".

20. *Mahāvamsa*, XXX, 66.

21. *Ibid.* p. 393, "Yo jīrṇa-pushpāṇi apanayet cetiyeṣu".

22. Speyer, No. 54, pp. 307-309, like the lady in the story of the Śrīmatī Avadani.

the Great One, he also acquires a string of merits.²³ He goes to the abode of the Gods and becomes the King of the Gods, and when he lives as a human being, he becomes a King - who adores the stūpa of the Buddha with joint palms.²⁴ The above citations are borrowed in the *Mahāvastu* from an earlier text called the *Avalokana Sūtram*, probably a Sanskrit version of an earlier Pāli original. An amended, developed and Sanskritized version of this text is cited in the *Śikṣā-samuccaya*.²⁵

It is difficult to exactly date the text cited above, but it must be clear that the recommendations for building, honouring and decorating the stūpa, with umbrellas, and flags, and garlands must have existed prior to the Bhārhut Stūpa, as, on the latter monument, one notices several replicas of the stūpa bearing the decorations recommended in the texts cited above. Indeed these recommendations for decorating the stūpa, involving spiritual merits, have incidentally extended a charter to the decorative sculptor, who had to be requisitioned to ornament a stūpa with replicas of garlands, flags and umbrellas. The cult of the stūpa had thus furnished the seeds for Buddhist Art, although, till then, the iconographic and mythical materials and motifs have been derived from typically non-Buddhist conceptions then current in popular beliefs. Thus, the Yakṣa and Yakṣī iconology and the related vegetable motifs of early Vedic water-cosmology were the only materials available to decorate a Buddhist stūpa, as we find on the railings, pillars, and architraves from Bhārhut.

BHĀRHUT

Of Architectural motifs at Bhārhut we find a typical lion capital on groups of upturned lotus abacus (Fig. 1). This type of pillar and capital with animal motifs common in Cave Architecture (from first century B.C.) has furnished the earliest prototype for decoration of the stūpas at Jaggayyapet and Amarāvati (Fig. 2). Of characteristically Buddhist motifs at Bhārhut, the worship of the Bodhi-Tree, the worship of the stūpa and some illustrations of the life of the Buddha and various *Jātaka* stories offer them for sculptural decorations of edifying intentions.

The replicas of the stūpa (from medallions at Bhārhut) on panels decorated with flowers, garlands (on the drum), and umbrella hung with festoons, and two devotees with hands joined in worship (*anjali-vaddha*) bear out and justify the text of the *Avalokana Sūtra* cited above. Another replica of a stūpa carries on two ends flags (*patākas*), and the descending foliate decorations above the rows of rhythmic garlands probably illustrate the *mālāvihāra* (the enjoyment of wreaths) of the cited text.

SĀNCHĪ

In the bas-reliefs on the gates of the stūpas at Sānchī, the objects of sculptural decoration are very much the same as at Bhārhut, viz., the worship of the Bodhi-Tree, the worship of the Stūpa and the worship of the Wheel of Law (*dhamma-chakka*) and some incidents relating to the life of the Buddha, besides illustrations of stories from the *Jātakas*. Some of the gods and goddesses of the Yakṣa cult also occur at

23. *Ibid.* p. 386, "Sodhetva (?) stūpani puruṣottamasya."

24. *Ibid.* p. 395, 15-25; "yo anjaliye (?) vandati Buddha stūpam".

25. *Śikṣā-Samuccaya*, Ch. VIII: *Avalokana Sūtram*.

Sānchī (e.g., the *Catur-Mahārājās*, the Regents of the Four Quarters). The various types of Yakṣis, which figure on the pillars at Bhārhut, are repeated at Sānchī and recognized and labelled as *sāla-bhañjikās*, or *Vrkṣavestikās*, or as the *Mahāvaṃśa*²⁶ characterizes them, as *puppha-śakhā-dharā Kumāriyo* (damsels holding bunches of flowers and branches of trees) types, generally used with auspicious rather than with cult significance. Nothing is introduced as mere decorative, or ornamental motif. In close connection with these women-motifs, also occur, as at Bhārhut, a few representations of *mithunās* (reproductive pairs) also, to be regarded as auspicious symbols and of mystic, architectonic, or masonic symbolism. As we will find, the motifs are adopted and used on the monuments of Āndhra as part of the repertoire of Buddhist canonical designs. As has been remarked above, the cult of the Yakṣas was not a characteristic Buddhist cult, but was current in popular belief and was adopted by the Buddhists and it found its way into Pāli literature and the Buddhists allowed the Yakṣas to be represented on the decorations of the stūpa. In all periods of Indian religions the populace believed in various forms of local, tribal or tutelary deities. Hence, the illiterate masses in the population attached to these cults were designated as *deva-dhammikās*, or 'worshippers of the gods'.²⁷ When the worship of the Buddha emerged as a popular cult and became the subject of mass adoration, He was recognised, as pointed out by Dr. Barua, as for above all current gods (*sabha sattānām aggo*) and as the supreme object of worship.²⁸

BUDDHIST ART OF THE CAVE MONUMENTS

The sculptural motifs of the Buddhist caves of the period from about 100 B.C. to 100 A.D. consists of a series of riders on elephants on the capitals of pillars (as at Bhāja, Kārli, and Kanheri), donative or reproductive couples (*mithunās*) as at Kuda, Kārli, Kondane and Nāsik caves.

The *mithunās* as auspicious masonic symbols occur frequently at Amarāvati and on the later monuments of Āndhra and are related to and derived from earlier models met with in the caves of Western India. On the doorway of one of the caves at Nāsik occur some standing *Yakṣa-dvārapālās*, carrying lotus spray which provide the plastic and iconographic lineage of similar figures on the Āndhra monuments.

On the two panels inside two of the caves at Nāsik occur carved representation in bas-relief of the worship of the stūpa decorated with the parasols (*chatra*) (three, in case of one, and five, in the other) hung with festoons and flanked by two women devotees, one of them in a pose of adoration and the other plying the fly-whisk.

At Bhāja (first century B.C.) on the facade of a cave occurs a stūpa adorned with hanging garlands recalling similar ornamented replicas of the stūpas at Sānchī. The facade of one of the caves at Junnar is also decorated by replicas of Stūpas mounted with parasols. On two of the pilasters of the Śrī-Śāta-Karṇi cave (Nāsik) occur medallions and half-medallions with characteristic lotus designs as at Bhārhut and provide the prototypes of similar decorations for the railings at Amarāvati. On the architrave on the facade of the same cave occurs a long frieze of animals (lions, bulls, elephants, tigers) which recall similar motifs at Bhārhut and Bodh-Gayā, and are related to similar animal motifs on the Āndhra monuments.

26. *Mahāvaṃśa*, XXX, 91.

27. *Deyā-dhamma Jātaka* and the *Niddesa*.

28. *Sumangala-vilāsini*, Part I, p. 233; "aggadakkhinuyyo".

MATHURĀ

In the meantime, about the end of the first century B.C., a rich centre of a creative school of sculpture had sprung up at Mathurā and had been supplying architectural decorations and icons to the Buddhist worshippers in the north. The Mathurā School has contributed quite a variety of novel sculptural types, males and females, and was the first to formulate the image of the Buddha, basing the same on the lineage of various earlier types of Yakṣa images. There are some very interesting links between Mathurā and the Andhra Schools, particularly in some dwarfish type of women motifs belonging to the early period of Amarāvati.

THE BEGINNING OF THE CULT OF THE BUDDHIST IMAGE

In all the scenes relating to the life of the Buddha, at Bhārhut and Sāñchī, the Buddha is represented by symbols, e.g., the Bodhi-Tree (symbolizing the *samyak Sambudha*), the Wheel (representing the Preaching Buddha who set the Wheel of *Dharma* in motion) and the Mound (the stūpa, suggesting the Final Release, '*mahāparinibhāṇa*'). Sometimes the presence of the Buddha is symbolized by a pair of Footprints (*pādukā*) in the scenes representing the Buddha's Ascent to the Abode of the Thirty-Three Gods and His Descent (Bhārhut) and in various scenes of the Buddha being worshipped by His devotees.

PĀDUKĀ VANDANĀ

In various scenes at Bhārhut where the presence of the Buddha is sought to be indicated a pair of Footprints is represented at the foot of the platform (*Bodhi-maṇḍa*).²⁹ Likewise, in the scene of the Great Departure on the Eastern Gate at Sāñchī, when Chandaka takes his final leave of his Master, the latter is represented by a pair of Footprints.³⁰ The earlier lithic representation of the Buddha's Footprints is that dug up by Waddell from an old site at Pāṭaliputra, which appears to be as old as Aśoka's time (c. 250 B.C.). The fact that it was surrounded by stone railings³¹ seems to suggest that it was worshipped by devotees, and probably by the royal devotee himself, according to the testimony of Hsueh Tshang cited below. If this conjecture is correct, a cult of the worship of the Footprint of the Buddha may have come to be established before the time of Aśoka.

At Sāñchī on the foot of the left pillar of the North Gate (c. 100-50 B.C.) occurs a pair of Footprints in conjunction with the Tree of Life mounted by the Wheel (*Cakra*) and the so-called '*Trisula*' or '*Nandi-pāda*' symbol. In a somewhat similar combinations with other accessories occurs the Footprint, small in size, on several elaborately designed stelas at Amarāvati, datable about 200 A.D. But a series of earlier shrines occurs showing the worship of the Pillar of Fire with the Footprints shown at the bottom of the pillar on various reliefs, one of them at least as old as 100 B.C. But no definite cult prescribing the worship of the effigy of the Footprints (*vestigiapedium*) can be traced, so far, in canonical literature, though there are various passages in early Pāli literature describing devotees 'touching the feet of the Lord in adoration'.³² "Come now, Brahman, do you go to the Exalted One and bow down in adoration at His feet on my behalf and enquire in my name whether He is free from illness and suffering, and in the

29. Barua, *Bhārhut*, III, Pl. XLI, 37; XLIX, 51.

30. Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, Pl. X, I.

31. Waddell, *Report on the Excavations at Pataliputra*, Calcutta, 1903, pp. 35-36.

32.

enjoyment of ease and comfort, and vigorous health."³³ There are numerous analogous passages in the *Divyāvadāna* of which one may be cited by way of example. "He approached the Blessed One and having approached Him he saluted Him at His feet and then took his seat in a corner."³⁴ The only reference to a worship of the feet, if not of the Footprint in a canonical text is the one in the *Apadāna*³⁵ which relates how the Thera named Padasañña owed his spiritual insight in the dispensation of the Buddha of the present age to the homage he had paid to one of the mythical Buddhas named Tissa: "Having seen the surpassing feet of Tissa the Brother of the Sun (in effulgence) I was brightened up in my mind and had my mind filled up with Supreme Delight. The knowledge that I picked up then (ninety-two Cycles from the present epoch) assured me that I should know no evil state; this was the fruit of the development of consciousness at the feet (of the Blessed One). They say that the Venerable Padasañña uttered these verses." The old Pāli texts do not appear to contain any reference to any cult relating to the Worship of the Feet of the Buddha. According to the testimony of Hsueh Tshang, there was a temple near the old relic-stūpa near Pāṭaliputra enshrining the Buddha's Footprints. According to tradition, "When the Buddha was leaving Magadha for the last time on His way north to Kusinagara, He stood on this stone and turned round to take a farewell look at Magadha. He left His Footprints on it, and these were still distinctly visible at the time of the pilgrim's visit. The Footprints, he says, were 18 inches long by 6 inches wide. On the right and left sides were wheels of discs; each of the ten toes had artistic venation; the lamination was distinct, and at times shed a bright light. When Aśoka removed to Pāṭaliputra he had the Footprints Stone put under a cover, and as it was near the capital, he was constant in paying it worship."³⁶ Aśoka's veneration of these Footprints appear to be a sentimental veneration of a vestige associated with the Buddha, rather than a regular cult-worship like that of the stūpa, or the Bodhi-Tree.

Fa Hian (399 A.D.) and Song Yün (518 A.D.) refer to a tower erected at Sanghashi, "where there are certain marks and impressions left on the stones by the feet of the different Buddhas."

The *Mahāvamsa* twice refers to the Footprints of the Buddha on Adam's Peak with great distinctness: "The Comforter of the World, the Divine Teacher, the Supreme Lord, having there propounded the doctrines of His faith, rising aloft in the air, displayed the impression of His foot on the mountain Sumerukuto" (i.e., Adam's Peak). The Footprint is supposed to have been discovered about 90 B.C. by the King Walagambahu, who on a hunting expedition was led to the holy Footprint by a stag.

Among the numerous relics of Buddhist monuments at Gāndhāra occur a few representations of the Footprint, now in the Lahore Museum, but they do not appear to have been noticed by Foucher. They are very few in number and do not seem to suggest a very popular cult of the Footprint being current in Gāndhāra in early times. But Hsueh Tshang has referred to two shrines of the Footprint in the Swat Valley. "About 30 li south-west from the Apālā Dragon spring, and on the north bank of the river, was a large stone with the Buddha's Footprints; . . . a building had been erected over them and people from far

33. *Mahāparinibbāna - Sutta* I, 2, "*Bhagavato pade sirasa vandati*".

34. *Divyāvadāna*, XXXVII, p. 547; "*Upasamkramya Bhagavataḥ padan sirasa vanditva ekante nishīnah*."

35. *Apadāna*, 72, P.T.S. edition, p. 119.

36. Watters' *on Yuan Chawang's Travels in India*, P.A.S. edition Vol. II, p. 92.

and near came to make offerings.³⁷ In the Mahāvāna monastery nearby, there was "a large square stone on which were the Buddha's Footprints."³⁸

There is very little doubt that the cult of the Footprint grew up sometime after the time of Aśoka, which called for representations of the Footprint in sculptured reliefs of which several occur at Amarāvati during the early phase, and later, at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. As a developed cult, it has been very popular in Burma, as attested by a prayer in honour of the Footprint which children are taught to recite at night before going to bed. According to Burmese traditions, these Footprints had been left by the Buddha before His *Nirvāṇa*.³⁹ The elaborately carved Footprint, with all the auspicious marks, in the Great Wat Po temple at Bangkok is very well-known.

THE WORSHIP OF THE BOWL-RELIC

The worship of the Buddha's Bowl was made the subject matter of a cult referred to in different versions of legends. According to the *Nidāna Kathā*,⁴⁰ the Buddha when He had finished eating the milk-rice given by Sujāta, took the golden vessel, and said, "If I shall be able to-day to become a Buddha, let this pot go up the stream." And He threw it into the water. And it went, in spite of the stream, eighty cubits up and river in the middle of the stream, all the way as quickly as a fleet horse. And diving into a whirlpool it went to the palace of Kāla Nāgarāja (the Black Snake-King) and striking against the bowls of three previous Buddhas, it made the sound of 'click! click!' (*killi, killi*) and remained stationary at the lowest of them.⁴¹ According to the *Lalitavistara*⁴² the Bowl was immediately recovered by Indra, who assumed the form of a Garuda, but unable to obtain it by force, succeeded in securing it by courtesy, by resuming his own form, and then took it to the Heaven of Thirty-Three Gods and established there a yearly festival (*pātri-mahā*, Pāli: *Patta-mahā*) in honour of the Bowl relic (*Pātri-yātrā nāma parva*). A different version of the legend is recorded in the *Mahāvamsa*⁴³ and also referred to by Fa Hian (Ch. XI). On a fine relief on a fragment of a *typhanum* of the Mathura School the cult of the Bowl is represented also on some reliefs from Gāndhāra.⁴⁴ The cult has, indeed inspired some very animated reliefs at Amarāvati. It should be remarked that at the time of Menander (c. 155 B.C., if not at the time the text of the *Milinda-panho* was written down in Pāli c. first century A.D.) the cult of the Buddha's Bowl had not come into existence. For Nāgaśena in justifying the Buddha's injunction that the real seekers after truth should undertake self-discipline and contemplation rather than worship the relics (*śarīra-pūja*) of the Buddha winds up the discourse by saying, "And if, O! King, He had not said so, then would the Bhikkus have taken His Bowl and His robe, and occupied themselves with paying reverence to the Buddha through them!"⁴⁵ This clearly suggests that at the time of Menander the worship of the Bowl would have been a matter of ridicule. The cult must have grown up later.

37. *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 231.

38. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 233.

39. U. Mya; A Note on the Buddhas Footprints in Burma", *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey, 1930-34*, Part II, pp. 320-331.

40. Fausboll, *Jātaka Text* Vol. I, p. 70.

41. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Revised edition pp. 187-188.

42. *Lalitā vistara* Lefmann's edition, Ch. VII, p. 270.

43. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXXI.

44. - Vogel, "L Sculpture de Mathura" *Art Asiatique*, XV, Pl. LV and LVI.

45. Rhys Davids, S.B.E. XXXV, p. 248.

Likewise, the plaited hair and the jewelled-turban (*cūḍāmaṇi*) of the Buddha became the subject of adoration in the same heaven. At the time of the Great Departure, the Buddha cut off the same and saying to himself, "If I am to become a Buddha let it stand in the air, if not let it fall to the ground," threw the hair and the diadem together as he held them towards the sky. The plaited hair and the jewelled turban went a league off and stopped in the air. Sakka caught sight of it with his divine eyes and receiving it a league high in a jewel casket, he placed it in the Tāvātimsa Heaven in the 'Dagoba of the Diadem'.⁴⁶ The festival that was inaugurated was known as the *Cūḍāmaha* (Pāli: *cuḷamoha*). A temple was set up in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three Gods to enshrine the Crest-relic.⁴⁷ In the same two reliefs from Mathura cited above, the worship of the Crest-relic is represented as also in one or two reliefs from Gāndhāra. The cult is also referred to in related literature.⁴⁸ The earliest representation of the cult appears on a relief of Bhārhut⁴⁹ inscribed with the words: "*Bhagavato cūḍā-maho*" 'the Festival in honour of the Crest (dressed hair-lock) hair-lock of the Lord.' As Coomāraswāmy⁵⁰ has pointed out, the relic consisted of the Crest (*cūḷa*) together with the turban (*moliyā saddhim cūlam*).

THE CULT OF THE IMAGE

Notwithstanding the various cults connected with the Buddha, the worship of an anthropomorphic representation of His image did not come into existence until much later than the other cults cited above.

As we have seen, that throughout His life the Buddha discouraged any popular deification of His own personality, or any popular worship growing up with His own image as the object. This had the desired effect of forbidding any image of the Buddha being formulated during His lifetime and several centuries after His death. So that we find that in the earliest phases of Buddhist Art at Bhārhut, Sāñchī and Bodhi-Gaya in all the illustrations of the incidents of His life, where His portrait was called for, the same is omitted and indicated by a symbol. Thus in the scene of the Great Departure depicted on the middle lintel of the Eastern Gate at Sāñchī, when the Buddha leaves the palace riding on his favourite horse Kanthaka, the rider is absent, and the back of the horse is empty and in the part of the story where the Buddha dismisses Chandaka (*Chandaka-nivartana*) the latter makes his final salutation by bowing at His feet, the Buddha is represented by a pair of Footprints (*pāduka*).⁵¹ This manner of representing the Buddha by a symbol appears to have been necessitated by some express canonical injunction prohibiting any anthropomorphic portrait of the Master. We have cited some texts in which the Master is represented as discouraging any iconic presentation of His portrait for the purpose of worship. In order to make a popular concession, as far as possible, He appears to have permitted the worship of the Bodhi-Tree as a substitute or a symbol of His worship as a personal god (*Kalinga-bodhi Jātaka*). But the *Brahma-jala Sūta* (3. 73) appears to suggest an express prohibition of His image on the ground that after the final desperation, the Buddha passes

46. Rhys Davids' Translation *Nidāna katha* Buddhist birth stories, pp. 177-78.

47. *Lalitā vistara*, p. 225, "*Trayātrimsasū deveṣu Cūḍāmaho*", Fausboll, *Jātaka* text, Vol. I, 165, "*Travastrimsad bhuvane Cūḍāmaṇi-cetiya*"; *Mahāvastu* II, pp. 165-6; *Travastrimsad-bhuvane Cūḍāmahaṇi vartati*."

48. *Lalitā vistara*, p. 225, and *Mahāvastu* II, p. 165-6;

49. Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bhārhut*, p. XVI.

50. Coomāraswāmy, JRAS, 1928, p. 823.

51. Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, Pl. X, I.

into the Realm of Invisibility, and cannot be seen by gods and men. According to the assertion of the Buddha recorded in this text: "So long as His body shall last, so long do gods and men behold Him. On the dissolution of the body beyond the end of His life, neither gods nor men shall see Him."⁵² Here, then, we have an authoritative explanation why in the early Buddhist monuments the representation of the figure of the Buddha is systematically omitted. On the other hand, there is a passage in the *Samyutta Nikāya*⁵³ which puts into the lips of the Master words of equivocal significance, which might have been interpreted as encouraging the worship of His own personality: "*Alam Vakkali kiṃte iminā putikāyena diṭṭhena. Yo kho Vekkalī Dhammam passati, so mam passati, yo mam passati, so dhammam passati, Dhammam hi Vakkali passanto mam passati, mam passanto dhammam passati*": "O! Vakkali, What is the good of your gazing at this body (of mine) full of putrid matters. Whoever, O! Vakkali, looks at (my) doctrine looks at me. And who looks at me is indeed looking at (my) doctrine."

In the *Milinda-panho*,⁵⁴ Nāgasena explains the position by an analogy with a dead man and his handwriting: "Just so, great King, whosoever sees what the Truth (*dhammam*) is, sees the Blessed One, for the Truth was preached by the Blessed one."⁵⁵

The above words of Buddha may be interpreted to suggest that the Personality and the Doctrine of the Buddha are interchangeable and identical, that is to say, one could be substituted for the other. 'He who gazes at me gazes at the doctrine.' In the sequel to the *Baka Jātaka*⁵⁶ the Buddha had laid stress on His doctrine in preference to His own personality. Here, the two may be interpreted as equated. Then again, in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, it is asserted that even those who have not yet entered the path "are sure of heaven if they have love and faith towards me." These passages certainly help to build up the edifice of a personal worship, a cult of devotion. They make room for the development of a theistic devotional cult (*bhakti-vāda*) round the Personality of the Buddha. Indeed, the popular demand for an object of offering, for an object of personal worship, though suppressed during the lifetime of the Buddha, must have been growing incessant and persistent, and could no longer be suppressed and the patriarch on whom fell the mantle of the Buddha, after His death, for spreading the Doctrine, as they did with the royal patronage of Aśoka, must have felt the necessity of some effigy of the Buddha (as the *Divyavadāna* puts it) "for the purpose of stimulating feelings of popular devotion" (*Laukikam cittam utpādyitum*). Indeed, during the lifetime of the Master, for awakening popular devotion, portraits of the Master may have been used, if the legends have any basis of truth. This in the *Divyavadāna*⁵⁷ the Buddha Himself suggests a portrait being painted from life. When asked by Bimbisāra as to what presents he could send in return to King Rudrayana (Udayana) of Roruka who had sent to Bimbisāra some valuable presents, the Buddha said: "Have a portrait painted of the *Tathāgata* (meaning Himself) on a canvas and end it to the King". Bimbisāra called for his painters (*citrakāra*) and asked them to paint His portrait. But they apologized by saying that the Lord Buddhas are 'inaccessible' to visible perception (*durāsādā Buddhā Bhagavantaḥ*) and "They (the artists) could not grasp the Blessed One's Exemplum" (*te na śaknuvanti Bhagavato nimittam udgrahitum*). The Blessed One explained that owing to lassitude

52. Rhys Davids' *Dialogue of the Buddha*, 1899, Part I, 73, p. 54.
53. *Khanda-samyutta*, XXII, 87, 13; Pl. III.

54. *Milinda-panho*, Trenckner's edition, pp. 179-81.
55. Rhys Davids, Tr. S.B.E., Vol. XXXV, p. 110.

56. Herold, *The life of the Buddha*, 1929, p. 161.
57. *Divyavadāna*, Ch. XXXVII p. 547.

(*kheda*) or, as Coomāraswāmy admirably explains owing to lack of concentration (*Śīthila-samādhi*), they were unable to do so. He then called for a piece of canvas and projected His shadow upon it and asked the painters to fill in the outlines with colours (*raṅgaiḥ pūrayata*). He further asked some verses to be inscribed at the foot of the portrait expounding the main outline of His Doctrine. He further advised that the portrait should be honoured by a procession several miles long with the roadside decorated (*ardha-tritiyāni yojanāni mārga-śovā kartavyā*) and the effigy after being placed in a space of large dimensions should be unveiled after observing impressive rituals and acts of worship (*mahatīm pūjām satkāraṃ kṛtvā dghāṭayitavyam*) "By so doing you will be possessed of great merits." According to this recommendation the portrait was unveiled with elaborate worship and rituals. Just at this time arrived a group of merchants from Central India, who on seeing the portrait, shouted with one voice: "Salutation to the Buddha" (*namo Buddhaya*). This singing out of the name caused to all present a feeling of amazement and a horripilation of ecstasy, even as the Kadamva blossom (*kadamva-puṣpavat āhṛṣṭa-romakūpāni*). For everybody present borrowing the words of Dhaniya Gopa, the prosperous herdsman, recorded in the *Sutta-nipāta* (I. 2. 31): "We come, O! Lord, for refuge unto Thee, of Divine Insight!" (*sarṇam tamupema, cakkuma!*).

That this legend in the *Divyavadāna* is fairly old is confirmed by the Tibetan version of the same in Khagyr.⁵⁸

An analogous legend is related of a company of merchants who carried a portrait of the Blessed One sent by the Buddha Himself with superscribed verses, for *Muktalātā*, a princess of Ceylon. According to this story⁵⁹ when the princess placed the portrait on a golden throne, the populace lost themselves in contemplative union with the portrait (*janas tanmayatādhyānādeki-bhāvam ivā-jayau*, 64) and 'the princess on contemplation on the sacred portrait of Jina abjured all desires for an endless period of time' (*Jina-pratikṛtim puṇyam paśyati pāṛthivātmajā: anādi-kālopācitām mumocā- jñānavāsanām*, 69).

As regards the portrait drawn from His shadow cast on the wall, there is a similar tradition of His shadow having been left in a cave near Nagarahāra (modern Jalalabad, near the village of Chahar Bagh), which becomes visible to the eyes of the passionate devotees which was visualized by Houen T'sang.⁶⁰

The suggestion said to have been made by the Buddha Himself (in the story of the *Divyavadāna*, cited above) to observe certain rituals for unveiling the portrait lays the foundation for the cult of image-worship of the Buddha. But as yet no spiritual merit has been promised to follow the worship of the portrait. But something like a promise of merit is suggested in a verse of the *Avalokana Sūtra* cited in the *Mahāvastu*. In the passage⁶¹ amidst a string of verse enumerating the merits that accrue to one who places a lamp on the stūpa of the Buddha, there is a stray verse (16-18) relating to the worship of the Buddha Himself. If the shrine to commemorate the Buddha deserves worship with ritualistic aids of flowers (*puṣpa*), in case (*gandha*) and lamp (*dīpa*), why not worship

58. J. Hackin, *Conferences au Musée Guimet*, 1913, pp. 145-157.

59. *Avadāna-Kaṣṭhalāpa*, VII, 55, 59, 61-69.

60. R. Grouse, *In the footsteps of the Buddha*, pp. 101-103.

61. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 379, 5-20.

the Buddha Himself, the Buddha who is indeed fit to be venerated, circumambulated (*varadakṣiṇīya*), and who deserves worship in the first instance (*agrārha*). And one paying special tributes to Him in the first instance, and one worshipping (*pūjā*) the 'Sea of Virtues' attain an incomparable stage. In the *Sikṣa-samuccaya*⁶² the corresponding verse is slightly different and corrupt in form and has been thus paraphrased by Bendall and Rouse: "Pre-eminent is Buddha, unequalled to be venerated; one who has walked in the pre-eminent way and attained excellence; he who does worship to this Chief of Men becomes in consequence best and incomparably beautiful".⁶³ In these two verses, a suggestion is made for the worship of the Buddha as distinguished from the tribute to His shrine (*Buddha-stūpa*). Nevertheless, there is no suggestion yet for an image, or an icon, although the way to the worship of the images is made perfectly clear of the implied prohibition of the early canonical texts. No early text has been traced recommending the worship of an image of the Buddha. The effigy on a canvas sent to Rudrayana was after all a realistic portrait—not an idealized image, or an icon. But the similitude that Upagupta requests Māra to assume is a dramatic and realistic personification of a character (*Buddharupam kṛtvā nāṭa iva*), and is not yet a full-fledged worshippers' icon, though it offers a fairly tempting model for an idealized image. Upagupta beseeches Māra to show him the Form-body (*rūpa-kāya*). "The Buddha has entered into Nirvāṇa a hundred years ago, I am familiar with His Body of Doctrine (*dharma-kāya*) but I have not seen the physical body of that Lord of the Three Worlds, resplendent as the shining mountain" (p. 390). When the Sthavira is face to face with the presentation he is thrown into an ecstasy (*prāmodayam utpannam*) and he mechanically rises from his seat and in adoration, 'joins his palms, even in the form of lotus-buds' and is overpowered by the sight of the Beauty of the Form of the Lord (*ahorūpa-sobhā Bhagavataḥ*) and his ecstasy found expression in laudatory verses extolling the purity of the vision of the populace (*jana-netra-kāntam*) and asserted that 'not to speak of persons like himself, even enemies will be overjoyed at the sight'. And with these words the patriarch fell down at his feet in a senseless trance. The aesthetic efficacy of a worshipper's image was undoubtedly demonstrated on that occasion. The story incidentally indicates the fact that by this time a popular necessity has been intensely felt for the worship of an anthropomorphic image of the Buddha, considering the fact that even such a learned patriarch like Upagupta revealed a passionate desire to visualize the body of the Master.

No figure of the Buddha except in symbolic forms occurs in any of the early phases of Buddhist Art at Bhārhut, Sāñchī, or Bodh Gayā. The earliest surviving image of the Bodhisattva appears to be the headless torso from Sārnāth from the Mathurā Studios which Bachhofer dates earlier than 78 A.D. There is a still earlier headless standing image of the Buddha from Lauriyān Tangai (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta) with an inscription dated 6 A.D.⁶⁴ As these images do not appear to represent the earliest formulation of the icon, earlier images of the Bodhisattva or the Buddha must have been made, at least about the end of the pre-Christian Era. Having regard to the uncertain chronology of the date of Kaniṣka, the beginning of the Gandhara School cannot be definitely placed before 50 A.D. As we have seen from the texts cited above that Buddhism has been tending towards a cult of worship of the Buddha from the lifetime of the Master, it must have come into existence sometime about the middle of the first century B.C., although we cannot document this date precisely with reference to any definite canonical texts which, unfortunately, all belong to a much later period.

62. *Sikṣa-samuccaya*, Text, p. 299, 7-8.

63. *Indian-Text Series*, Translation 1722, p. 271.

64. Bachhofer, pl. 142, right.

Perhaps the first century A.D. is the earliest time, that in the present state of our knowledge, we can assign the texts recommending the merits, or "virtues of making the image of the Buddha". This text, which appears to have been in Sanskrit, is known under the title of *Tathāgata-prativimba-pratiṣṭhānu-śamsā*. This text translated into Chinese sometime during the Eastern Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-220) under the title "*Fo-shwo-tso-fo-hhin-sian-kin*" (*Sūtra* spoken by Buddha on making Buddha's images). Probably the original text, now lost, was in Pāli, and the Chinese translation was from a later Sanskrit text which must have existed before the Eastern Han Dynasty. All the other Sanskrit texts are much late in date, and are, here, cited, as the only available source of our information on the topic.

On the basis of the Chinese translation of the text recommending the making of images of the Buddha, it may be reasonable to infer that the worship of the image (*vimba*) of the Buddha was an established cult in India sometime before 25 A.D., that is to say, most probably about the end of the first century B.C. The later texts relating to the topic undoubtedly appropriate earlier doctrinal developments. Thus in the *Mahākaruṇa-puṇḍarīka Sūtra* of uncertain date,⁶⁵ the Buddha is made to say "Let alone the man who would reverence me face to face; let alone worship of my body with things no bigger than a leaf of mustard; let alone the dedication to me of builded shrines; whosoever, Ananda, thinking of the Buddha shall cast but into the air only one flower... the limit of this merit cannot be reached."⁶⁶ Another later text, cited in the same collection, prescribed eight methods of securing permanent association with the Buddha: "And what are these eight? By instigating people to look on the image of the Buddha; by doing service to the *Tathāgata*; by constantly speaking the *Tathāgata*'s praises; by making a likeness of the *Tathāgata*; by instigating all to look on the *Tathāgata*; and in whatever Buddha's field they hear words of the *Tathāgata*, there they set their longings; they are never depressed; always in exaltation they crave the Buddha's wisdom."⁶⁷

When the necessity arose of initiating the worship of the image of the Buddha, the formulations of the icon do not appear to have based their conception on the realistic portrait described in the Rudrayāna legend (*Divyāvadāna*). They devised an idealized figure, characterized by the marks of physiognomical peculiarities (*lakṣaṇās*) of a superhuman being which had been ascribed to the former Buddhas. The earliest of these elements for the iconography of a superhuman type is enumerated with reference to Vipassī, a former Buddha in the *Mahā-padāna Suttānta*.⁶⁸ These peculiarities are better predicated, generally, with reference to all the Buddhas, as types of *Mahāpuruṣa* (superman) in the *Lakkhana Suttānta*.⁶⁹ While staying at Jetavana in Śāvatthī, the Buddha Himself asserted that "There are thirty-two special marks of the superman (*dvāṭtiṃsa mahāpuruṣa-lakkhaṇāni*), brethren, and for the superman possessing them two careers lie open, none others." If he lives the life of a householder he attains the status of an Universal Monarch (*Rāja-Cakravartī*). But if such a boy go forth from the life of the householder he becomes an Arhat, a Buddha Supreme, rolling back the veil from the world. Then the Buddha enumerated the thirty-two marks. As we find in the *Nidāna Kathā*, the ascetic Kala Devala when he saw the boy Bodhisattva recognised the marks of his body and foretold that the boy will become a Buddha. Of the thirty-two marks enumerated the most prominent peculiarities are (a) his hands and feet are like a net (*jālahattha-pādo*); (b) the front half of his body is like a lion (*sīha-pubbaddha-kāyo*); (c) (31) between the eyebrow

65. *Sikṣa-Samuccaya*, cited this. Ch. 17 p. 309.

66. Bendall, p. 276.

67. *Ibid*, p. 276.

68. *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, 16, Rhys Davids, Tr. in the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part III, pp. 13-16.

69. *Ibid*, part III pp. 137-139.

appears a hairy mole, white like soft cotton down (*unnābhamukantare odāta mudutūla-sannibhā*); (d) (32) his head is like a royal turban (*uṇh tsa-sīso*); (3) (19) his proportions have the symmetry of the banyan tree (*nyagrodha-parimāṇa*—'the banyan circumference'), the length of his body is equal to the compass of his arms and the compass of his arms is equal to his height."⁷⁰ Later on, to these thirty-two principal marks are added eighty minor or lesser marks (*anuvyañjanas*). These do not appear to occur in any text earlier than the *Lalitavistara*. Another characteristic of the superman, referred to in the *Mahāpadāna Suttānta* is the various auspicious marks (e.g., the wheel) on the palm of the hand and on the sole of the foot. "On the palm of the hands and on the soles of the babe's feet wheels appear with a thousand spokes with tyre and hub, in everyway complete."⁷¹ To this wheel on the sole of the feet are added later, other auspicious marks, e.g., conch, shell, lotus, thunderbolt and elephant-goad. In some early examples from Amarāvati, the marks of *Swastika*, *Srivatsa* (*trīśūla*) and the *Pūrṇa-ghaṭa* (filled jar) are added. These later developed into two hundred and sixteen auspicious emblems (*māṅgala-lakṣaṇa*), one hundred and eight on each foot, according to Sinhalese texts.⁷² The Siamese Prabhat 'Holy Foot-print', with emblems, is probably the most elaborately decorated Foot-print of the Lord. But the thirty-two major and eight minor emblems do not include the most characteristic feature of the image of the Buddha, viz., the elongated form of the ear, though its measurements are given in the image-makers' handbook.

Anyhow it is quite clear that the object of the thirty-two marks was to produce a pattern, a type of the Buddha image conforming to an idealized conception visualizing not a realistic portrait, such as Māra showed to Upagupta, but a transcendental (*Lokottara*) conception of the Exalted One. Indeed as the Sage Asita exclaimed when he was the Babe: "He has no peer! He is mankind's best."⁷³ 'No common clay is He' (*naora-kāyaṃ*, 692). In addition to these special marks, the iconographer of the Buddha image had before him the plastic models of a series of *Yakṣa* images (occurring in early Indian Schools of the second and first Century B.C.) which was made the basis of formulating and developing the iconic conception of the Buddha. Thus the earliest images of the Mathura School can be easily deduced from the type of *Yakṣa* statues and the figures of 'Regents of the Four Quarters' (*Catur-Mahārājās*) which occur at Bhārhut, Śāñchī, and Nāsik. Coomāraswāmy⁷⁴ has skilfully demonstrated how the elements of the later anthropomorphic iconography were already present in early Indian Art, and in view of the canonical prescription from the type in early canonical literature, there was no room for introducing any feature from Hellenistic sources. For the seated type the effigies on the coins of Maues (c. 100 to 80 B.C.) and Azes (c. 58 B.C.) offer analogous models; and for the standing type, the *Yakṣa* figures offered convenient prototypes near at hand. A series of standing images of the Mathurā School amply demonstrate the iconographic and stylistic continuity of an earlier indigenous type adopted to the new necessities of Buddhist worship.

Once the image of the Buddha was evolved on the patterns of earlier Indian plastic prototypes, a codified canon for the sculptor was laid down which survives in various versions of the texts on image-making (*Buddha-pratimā-Lakṣaṇa*). When the first image was introduced for worship, the old *Theravādi*

70. *Ibid.*, part III, p. 138.

71. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, part II, 1910, p. 14. Text: "Imassa deya kumarassa hettha pada-tesu cakkani jatani sahasarāṇ sanemikani sanabhikāni sarvakarapurāṇi."

72. Hardy, 'Manual of Buddhism,' p. 381.

73. *Sutta nipāta*, III, II, 690; "Anuttarayame, dipadānam uttamo."

74. Coomāraswāmy, the Origin of the Buddha Image.

prejudices had to be overcome and explained away. And this was done by introducing a *sūtra* (*sūta*) on the models of the old Dialogues of the Buddha in which the Buddha is made to say to Sāriputta that 'when the Lord is away or after he had died and sought rest in final extinction, for the purpose of worship, images should be made' (*Sāriputta mayi gate parinirvṛte va sati pūjā sātākārārtham pratimā kārayitavyā*). This is the preamble to one of the texts of the canons of 'making images of the Buddha'. When the artists in the Andhra Desa were called upon to give the representation of the Buddha they naturally followed the models of the Mathurā School but soon evolved a local type with distinguishing peculiarities. But their link with the Mathurā School can be easily traced and demonstrated. As in the early centres of Buddhist Art in the north, the image of the Buddha does not figure in the earliest phases of Buddhist Sculpture in the south.

We have been at some pains in indicating the stages of the evolution of early Buddhist Art in the north in relation to the development of Buddhist doctrines through the stages of the *Theravāda* (*Hinayāna*) the *Cāityavāda* and the later phases of the *Mahāsāṅghikās* which subsequently flowered out in the rich pantheon of the later Mahāyānist School. Without the background of the earlier history in the north it is difficult to follow the development of the Southern School of Buddhist Art and to accurately appraise its new development and its peculiar contribution. What had gone before explains what has followed. What has been evolved later justifies, amplifies, and develops what has gone before.

II. THE ANDHRA SCULPTURE: INVENTORY OF THE REMAINS

The great school of sculpture which flourished in the 'Province of the Andhras' (Andhra-patha, Andhra Desa) during the supremacy of the Śātavāhana kings, approximately between 225 B.C. and 225 A.D., represents one of the most exquisite examples of sculpture that have been ever produced in India. If the Śātavāhanās were identical with the Andhras, as the somewhat late testimony of the Paurāṇic traditions appears to assert, there could be no objection to designate this school as Andhra Sculpture, following the current practice of assigning the different chronological groups of Indian Sculpture under the designation of their related dynasties, e.g., Śunga Sculpture, Gupta Sculpture, Pallava Sculpture, Chandela Sculpture. According to one piece of evidence, the Śātavāhanās have been culturally distinguished from the Andhras, to be probably taken as different ethnic groups, or as subdivisions of identical tribes, or clans. In fact, none of the coins designates the Śātavāhanās as Andhras. According to some scholars the Śātavāhanās (Śātakarnis) originally came from outside the Andhra Desa which they subsequently made the centre of their activity, as the earliest inscriptional and numismatic records associate the Śātavāhanās with regions in Western India (Nānāghāt, Sopararka, Kanheri, Kārli, Nāsik and Paithān). Khāravēla (173-160 B.C.) King of Kalinga, in his Hathigumpha inscription, is stated to have despatched a large army to the Western Quarter, disregarding the presence of the Śātakarnis, who must, therefore, have been located at the time in the Western regions. In fact, Sri Śātakarni is described as the Lord of the West. The testimony of monumental sculpture appears to indicate a migration of artforms, types and designs of Śātavāhanā Sculpture from the West to the banks of the Krishna, from the caves in Western India to the earliest forms of sculptural decorations at Jaggayapeta and Amarāvati.

The sculptors of this region undoubtedly developed the Early School of Cave Sculpture and those of Śāñchī, Mathurā, and Bodh-Gayā, into newer, richer, and more prolific forms and designs. This local development, in the South of the early phases of Indian Art was indeed a valuable contribution made by the artists of the Andhra Deśa, and it will be reasonable to suppose, by sculptors of the Andhra tribe.

The inscriptions do not, unfortunately, afford dependable evidence of these sculptures having been executed by Andhra artists and the inference has to be drawn from a group of circumstantial evidences and peculiarities implicit in the exquisite carvings decorating the monuments which have survived in this area.

Anyhow, the artistic monuments of the Andhra Desa do not antedate the Buddhist phases, and early Andhra Art identical with the Art of the Buddhist Cycle. Though a hoary legend had grown up that the Buddha had visited the island of Ceylon, no creditable tradition ascribes to the Buddha any visit to the Andhra Desa. The sixteen great provinces (*mahājanapadās*) mentioned in early Buddhist literature⁷⁵ do not recognize any portion of the Andhra Deśa, though the *Sutta nipāta* (977) refers to the *Assaka* (*Āsmakā*) country located on the banks of the Godāvari. In fact, the regions lying to south of the Godāvari appear

75. *Vinaya*, II, 46, *Anguttara Nikāya*, I, 213.

to have been very little known to the early Buddhists, though the Southern regions (*Dakṣiṇāpatha*) are vaguely referred to, the extent of its limit not being recognized beyond the Upper Godāvari.⁷⁶ Yet the Andhra Deśa must have received its message of Buddhism before Aśoka, as he had no occasion to despatch any mission to Andhra. In fact, in his Rock Edict (XIII, *Shahbaz-garhi*) he proclaims that the Andhras had already accepted the religion of the Buddha: "And likewise here, in the King's dominion... among the Andhras and Pulindas everywhere are (people) following the injunction by His Majesty." Some early Buddhist legends refer to the stupas of Majerika (*Mangera Deśa*), which was probably situated in the lower valley of the Krishna. In a Jātaka story,⁷⁷ a Brahmin youth after completing his education at Takkaśila went to the Andhra Province to profit by practical experience. Two of Aśoka's Edicts (V, VIII) refer to the Andhras as a vassal tribe. At that time Andhra Deśa was the tract of the country between the Godāvari and the Krishna. According to Law, "The earlier Andhra Capital (Andhrapura) was situated on the Telavāha river (Probably Tel, or Telingiri). In the *Śrī Vaṇija*, Jātaka⁷⁸ a dealer crosses the river Telavāha and entered the town called Andhapura (*So... Televāham nāma nadīm uttaritvā Andha-puram nāma nagaram pavisanto...*).

The later capital of the province was Dhanakaṭaka (*Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka*, *Dharaṇikotta* of the inscriptions) and also Amarāvati on the river Krishna (a mile east of Dhanakaṭaka). A city called Amarāvati is mentioned in the *Dhamma Padattha kathā* and also in the *Thūpavaṇṇa*: "Four Incalculables and a hundred thousand Cycles of time in the past our Teacher was born as a Brāhmaṇa prince in the city of Amarāvati."⁷⁹ But it is impossible to say if it is identical with the city on the Krishna. Yet there is authentic testimony proving that Andhra was a fertile centre of Buddhist culture, as in the *Katthāvatthu* (a part of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*) a special group of monks called *Andhaka Samanās* are referred to. Much more significant sects of the Buddhist are referred to in the local inscriptions under the three names of Caitya-śailas, Pūrva-śailas and Aparā-śailas,—three of the early sects—being branches or sub-groups of the Mahā-sāṅghikās. The latter in course of time subdivided into nine branches of sects, the Caitya-śailas were perhaps the earliest and are sometimes referred to as Caitya-kārinis, the 'makers of Caityas' (stupas), who believed in spiritual efficiency of raising stupas in honour of the Buddha, and are sometimes referred to as *Caitya-vandakas*, or 'worshippers of Caityas' (stupas). To them should perhaps be ascribed the erection of some of the earliest of the stupas. Subsequently came the two other sub-groups, the Aparā-śailas and the Uttara-śailas, who developed the doctrine that even if one makes offerings to a stupa one cannot acquire great fruits. According to Tarānāth, the original Caitikiyas were merged with the Aparā-śailas. These sub-sects of the Mahā-sāṅghikās appear to have made Amarāvati their headquarters. And this part of the Andhra Deśa may claim to have made significant contributions to the development of Buddhist doctrines. The presence of the Caitikiyas in the Andhra Deśa may be inferred from the earliest stupas at Bhaṭṭiprolu, Amarāvati and Jaggayapeta, and, in fact, is actually referred to in the famous inscription of Kahutara and Isila of the reign of Śrī Puṣumāvi Vāsiṣṭiputrā (c.135-163), according to which the Great Caitya (*Māhacetiya*) at Amarāvati was in possession of the sect of Caitikiyas. In another inscription, the sect is designated as 'worshippers of Caityas': "Of a Papi, brother of the reverend Budhi, a Chaityavandaka, the gift accompanying (him after death) of a rail-bar (*suci*)."⁸⁰

76. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, pp. 195, 196, Vol. II p. 298.

77. *Jātaka*, I pp. 356 ff.

78. Fausboll, Vol. I, p. 111.

79. Law's edition, p. 2 and 3, "Ito kira kappa-sata-sahasadhikani catunnam asankheyyanam matthake Amarāvati nāma nagaram ahosi".

80. Burgess, No. 12, Ch. XII, pp. 101-102.

Although no text of the canons, or scriptures prescribing the doctrines of the Caitya-śailas has been traced, the Avadāna literature affords interesting glimpses into the practices and beliefs of these Caitya-worshippers.

The Buddhist Sculptures of the Andhra Deśa were produced at various sites and culture-areas (indicated in the Map opposite) where Buddhism flourished for several centuries beginning from about the third century B.C. though the actual remains do not antedate the second century B.C. The areas where Buddhist Art and Sculpture had flourished may be conveniently enumerated in a chronological order and they fall into four well marked chronological periods, viz., (I) 300 B.C. to 100 B.C., (II) 100 B.C. to 100 A.D., (III) 100 A.D. to 250 A.D., (IV) 250 A.D. to 350 A.D.⁸¹ A summary inventory of the sculptured remains which offer the data for the study of Andhra Art set in the following sections.

I. BHATṬIPROLU (c. 200 B.C.)

The stūpa at Bhatṭiprolu has yielded inscribed caskets containing relics and ashes of the Buddha. According to Buhler the dates of these donative inscriptions, one of them associated with a local chief Kubiraka (*Khūbirako Rājā*), cannot be placed later than 200 B.C., but may be earlier.⁸²

This site has yielded remnants of two sculptured relics in grey marble:

- (a) A damaged fragment of a pilaster-capital with horses and riders addorsed like those at Bhāja and Kārli.⁸³
- (b) A fragment of a large slab with the lower portion of a carved figure and with a *Kalāṣa* base of a pillar.⁸⁴

II. JAGGAYAPETA (EARLY PHASE, c. 200 B.C.)

This stūpa situated (30 miles north-west from Amarāvati on the Pāler river, a tributary of the Krishna, near Veta-Volu, has yielded numerous fragments of carved marble slabs with figures and pilasters in low reliefs, which probably formed a casing of the base of the stūpa. Some of the elaborately carved reliefs were probably placed on the projected portions of the stūpa at the cardinal points. Some of these fragments bore inscriptions in alphabets resembling Mauryan characters, and "there can be little doubt that the original structure belongs to a date considerably before the Christian Era."⁸⁵

The embellishments, decorations and additions to this stūpa continued for at least two centuries, as attested by a long inscription of Virapurīṣadatta of the Ikshvaku dynasty (c. 200 A.D.). The fragments of carved reliefs belong to the early phase datable about 200 B.C. "On the upper facia of some of the slabs were a few letters of inscriptions in characters of the Maurya type, and which may belong to as early a date as the beginning of the second century B.C."⁸⁶

81. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. II, p. 323.

82. A. Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities* 1894 Pl. VIII.

83. Op. Cit. Pl. IX.

84. Burgess, B.S.A.J., p. 111.

85. *Ibid*, p. 108.

86. *Ibid*, plates LIII-14, 1516, LIV-2, 4, 5, LV-1, 4.

(a) Several fragments of slabs with pilasters in high reliefs, with capitals and bases closely resembling early Western caves and with caryatid figures analogous to Bhārhut Yakṣās and Yakṣīs on winged aquatic animals. Eight of these pilasters are illustrated.⁸⁷ Some typical examples are cited here in drawings (figs. 4 & 5).

- (b) A fragment of a damaged slab containing the effigy of a stūpa with two worshipping figures.⁸⁸
- (c) A large damaged slab containing in low relief a temple (*puṇya-sāla*?) apparently a shrine of the Buddha (*gandha-kuṭi*) with a seat and the Footprints, (*pāḍuka*).⁸⁹
- (d) A large damaged slab illustrating the legend of the Sovereign Monarch Māndhātā.⁹⁰

III. AMARĀVATĪ (EARLY PHASE, c. 200—100 B.C.)

(a) An inscribed pillar with a carved crude representation of scenes from the Cycle of the Great Renunciation, of which the style of the relief as well as the inscriptions are closely similar to those of Bhārhut. "They may therefore be said to date from about 200 B.C."⁹¹

- (b) Several slabs with pilasters and copings similar to those from Jaggayapeta.⁹²
- (c) One headless seated devotee.⁹³
- (d) One damaged relief of Footprint (Buddha-pāḍuka).⁹⁴
- (e) A slab with a *kudu* window with a Yakṣi under a tree.⁹⁵
- (f) A damaged slab containing a shrine of the Buddha with Footprints worshipped by kneeling women (several times reproduced).⁹⁶
- (g) Several fragments of figures of running animals.⁹⁷
- (h) Slab with Man and Boy in high relief.⁹⁸
- (i) Slab with Worshipping King with attendants.⁹⁹
- (j) Slab with illustration in high relief of the Māndhātā Cakravartī.
- (k) Several fragments of human figures.¹⁰⁰

87. *Ibid*, Pl. LIII-17.

88. *Ibid*, Pl. LV-2.

89. *Ibid*, Pl. LV-3.

90. T.N. Ramachandran "An inscribed pillar carving from Amarāvati," *Acta orientalia* X, p. 153, A. J. B. Kemper, "Note on an Ancient Sculpture from Amarāvati", *Ibid*, p. 370.

91. Burgess, B.S.A.J., Pl. XLIX-5, 68, LI-1 and 3; LIV-2.

92. *Ibid*, Pl. LIII-2.

93. *Ibid*, Pl. LIII-1.

94. *Ibid*, Pl. XLIX-7.

95. *Ibid*, Pl. XLIX-3.

96. *Ibid*, Pl. XXX, 2 to 5, Bachhofer, Pl. 108.

97. *Ibid*, Pl. LI-2.

98. Fergusson, Pl. XCV-3; XXIX-2.

99. Burgess, Pl. LI-4; Fergusson, Pl. XCVI-1.

100. Burgess, Pl. LII-9.

- (l) Headless trunk of a worshipping figure said to be the portrait of the Śātavahana king Śrī Puṣyamāyi.¹⁰¹
- (m) Two long carved friezes, "Characterized by archaic style of sculpture—one with an inscription in a very early type of alphabet.¹⁰²" "These must be the oldest sculptures here".¹⁰³
- (n) A damaged slab with pilaster framing illustrating in low relief the Cult of the Bodhi-Tree.¹⁰⁴

The slabs from Amarāvati with pilasters with capitals carrying winged animals (No. (b), (m) and (n) in the above list) "so closely resemble those round the Jaggayapeta stūpa, that we cannot mistake in ascribing them to about the same age."¹⁰⁵

IV. GUNTAPPALLE (c. Second Century B.C.)

Some of the remains at this site have been assigned to the second century B.C. on the testimony of a Pāli inscription of a nun who constructed the steps leading to monuments.¹⁰⁶ The only piece of carving from this site is a "Trisūla" symbol carved on stone in the form of a pierced window.¹⁰⁷

V. ŚANKARAM (SANGHARĀMA) (c. 50 B.C.-100 A.D.)

Near a small village of Śankaram (District Vizagapatam, a mile from Taluka town of Anakapalle) are two hills called Bojjanna-konda which are covered by numerous monoliths and structural Buddhist remains. On the Eastern Hill are a series of rock-cut caves some of which contain carved reliefs of the Buddha with attendant figures. Some of the structures constructed with large size bricks (1' 5" × 3") have been assigned by Rea to a date "antecedent to the Christian Era."¹⁰⁸ The reliefs inside the caves, crude and primitive in design, have been dated by Rea "earlier than those from Amarāvati, or probably prior to the first century."¹⁰⁹ It should be remembered that the image of the Buddha, even if formulated before the Christian Era, was not very much current before the first century A.D.

VI. AMARĀVATĪ (SECOND PHASE 50 B.C. - 100 A.D.)

About the first century A.D., the stūpa at Amarāvati began to be embellished with decorations of carved marble casing (*silā-kamuka*) which replaced or added to its archaic decorations. The material used for these sculptured reliefs was a local variety of grey-marble of peculiar colour which the Mahāvamsa¹¹⁰ describes as of 'mucous colour' (*meḍa-vanna*). Closely following the archaic periods, Buddhist Sculpture quickly developed a local style at Amarāvati somewhat related to the style of the Mathurā and Śāñchī Schools, but rapidly departing from the manners and techniques of the Northern centre.

101. *Ibid*, Pl. XLVIII-4.

102. *Ibid*, p. 93.

103. Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, Pl. LXXVIII-2.

104. Burgess, p. 94.

105. Madras Epigraphist Report, 1888., pp. 1-3; 1916-17, pp. 30-36, A.R.A.S.I., 1905-06 pp. 166.

106. A.S., photo-S. Circle No. B. 175.

107. *An.Rep.* A.S., 1907-08, p. 162, footnote.

108. *Ibid*, pp. 149-180, footnote p. 158, Pl. LXI, a,b,c,e, and g to m.

109. *Mahāvamsa* XXX, 57-59.

110. Burgess, Pl. XLVI-3,4, XLVII-3, 4, XLVIII-1 and 2; Fergusson, Pl. XCIV-5; Pl. XCII-2.

- (c) A damaged relief of the Footprint with wheel, *Svastika* and other emblems.¹²³
- (d) A circular carved relief with a frieze of animals, as at Bodh-Gayā and Amarāvati.¹²⁴
- (e) A carved rail-panel, with a scene from the Birth of the Buddha.¹²⁵
- (f) An upright panel depicting the Assault of Mara with the seat empty.¹²⁶
- (g) A damaged upright panel with a tondo depicting an unidentified scene (*Jātaka*?).¹²⁷

VIII. AMARĀVATĪ (THIRD PHASE, 100-150 A.D.)

The third phase in the development of the school is connected with the introduction of the representation of the figure of Buddha replacing the earlier symbolic representation. Even after the introduction of the image the non-iconic presentation of the Buddha continued for some time. The figure of the Buddha introduced into the composition of the panels are somewhat stereotyped repetitions of free standing figures which appear to have preceded the panels introducing anthropomorphic figures. At the beginning of the first century, the relation of the Southern with the Northern School was not wholly snapped and Andhra had not yet developed its local peculiarities which appear to have developed between 50-100 A.D.

Apart from the figures of the Buddha introduced in the compositions relating to the life of the Buddha represented on the casing slabs and coping stones, various free standing single figures of the Buddha have come from Amarāvati. They belong to different dates, varying from about 50 to 225 A.D. One of the images of the Buddha (*Bhagavato Buddha-pamātu paṭṭa*) bears a dedicatory inscription read by Chanda.¹²⁸ Unfortunately the original image bearing this inscription has not been traced.

The images of the Buddha from Amarāvati are enumerated below:—

- (a) Two large standing images, discovered at the South Gate of the Stūpa¹²⁹ (Plate I).
- (b) A broken standing image.¹³⁰
- (c) A relief of the standing image with two attendants, Madras Museum¹³¹ (Plate II).
- (d) A damaged standing image.¹³²

123. *Ibid*, Pl. XXII.

124. *Ibid*, Pl. XXVI.

125. Musée Guimet, Paris, *Eastern Art*, I, Pl. XXI, 50, July 1928.

126. A.S. Photo: Southern Circle, No. B 206.

127. R.P. Chanda, "Some Unpublished Amarāvati Inscriptions" E.I. Vol. XV, Pl. 258-275.

128. A.S. Photo, No. B-122.

129. Fergusson, Pl. LXXXVII-1.

130. A.S. Photo No. B 1378.

131. Burgess, Pl. LII-1.

132. *Ibid*, Pl. XLII-8.

To this early phase of the second period belongs a series of upright slabs representing the three principal events of the Buddha's life—Illumination (*sambodhi*), Preaching (*dharma-cakra-pravartana*) and Final Release (*Pari-nirvāṇa*) and, sometimes, the theme of the *Māra-dharṣaṇa*. These are illustrated on compartments, placed one above the other in an ascending series, separated by horizontal bands, in which the Buddha is represented by empty thrones with Footprints at the bottom.

- (a) Damaged fragments of slabs with carved reliefs with the three main incidents.¹¹¹
- (b) A complete slab with the three compartments in tact.¹¹²
- (c) Damaged fragment of a casing slab representing two scenes one above another.¹¹³
- (d) A fragment of a pillar finely carved on all four sides in low relief with three principal emblems—tree, wheel and stūpa—the fourth representing a domed temple containing a shrine.¹¹⁴ The inscription records the gift of the pillar by Kūta, a tradesman for the southern entrance.¹¹⁵
- (e) An octagonal pillar exquisitely chiselled with floral ornaments mounted by tree, the wheel, the *Dharmma-stambha* and the stūpa.¹¹⁶
- (f) Two carved reliefs of a stūpa guarded by the snake at Rāmagrāma, mounted with clusters of parasols.¹¹⁷
- (g) Two fragments of architraves probably part of a *torana* with friezes of animals in low reliefs.¹¹⁸
- (h) A casing slab representing the scene of the 'Bath in Nairanjana.'¹¹⁹
- (i) A panel representing 'Women in the Bath.'¹²⁰

VII. GHANṬASĀLA (50 B.C. – 100 A.D.)

This site near a village 13 miles from Masulipatam has yielded several relics the most striking pieces being the following :—

- (a) Lower fragment of an octagonal pillar with the effigy of the throne mounted by the wheel.¹²¹
- (b) A long panel with the effigy of an auspicious jar with lotus flowers and foliages arranged in tiers.¹²²

- 111. Fergusson, XCIV. -3 ?.
- 112. "Elevation of the Crest-relic" and "Assault of Mara," Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, No. 29-152.
- 113. Burgess, Pl. XLIV- 1 to 4.
- 114. *Ibid*, p. 86.
- 115. Fergusson, Pl. LXXXIX.]
- 116. *Ibid*, Pl. XCI-1, 2.
- 117. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Nos. 21-1517 and 21-1524.
- 118. *Ibid*, No. 21-151.
- 119. Bachhofer, Pl. 120.
- 120. A. Rea, S.I.B.A., Pl. XIX.
- 121. *Ibid*, Pl. XVIII.
- 122. *Ibid*, Pl. XV.

- (e) A series of six standing images in relief on an octagonal pillar¹³³ (Plate III).
- (f) A seated image with attendants.¹³⁴
- (g) A series of seated images of former Buddhas on nine pieces of horizontal panels from 'inner rail'¹³⁵ (Plate IV).
- (h) Two seated images on a horizontal panel.¹³⁶
- (i) Two images, one seated and one standing, on an early upright pillar.¹³⁷
- (j) A damaged head of the Buddha.¹³⁸
- (k) Head of the Buddha (Plate V).¹³⁹
- (l) Two broken casing slabs depicting 'Assault of Māra'.¹⁴⁰
- (m) An upright casing slab (*urddha-paṭṭaka*) depicting in four compartments the Departure, the Temptation, the Preaching and the Final Release.¹⁴¹

IX. AMARAVATĪ (FOURTH PHASE 150-225 A.D.)

According to a tradition recorded by Tārānāth, Nāgārjuna, with the help of a Śātavāhana King, "surrounded the Great Shrine at Dhānyakaṭaka with a railing." It is quite possible that the Śātavāhana King may have taken the initiative, but the help to set up and decorate the railings came also from numerous private donors whose inscriptions are recorded in the coping-stones and other parts of the railings. Whether these benefactions came exclusively through royal patronage or through the munificence of other donors, "there is no doubt that about the middle of the second century, the stūpa at Amarāvātī was undergoing additions embellishments" (Burgess). The railings, their pillars and coping-stones with exquisite carving, depicting scenes from the Buddha's life and the Jātakas, represented perhaps the latest phases of these carvings and in them the Art of the Andhras, perhaps, reached their highest water-mark. These were very probably executed between 150 and 225 A.D. According to Burgess (p. 112-113) "it was in the height of its popularity, when the great rail was erected shortly before 200 A.D.". He also remarks: "The sculpture of the inner rail (inner facade of the rail) would seem to be of a somewhat later date and may not have been completed much before the end of the third century". (p.112).

The sculptured decorations on the railings fall into three classes :—

I. Railing Pillars (*śābo*) with rough hewn base and half-lotus and full lotus rosettes, with the intervening spaces filled up with animated scenes from the Jātakas, The Avadānās and the Life of the Buddha, Yakṣa-goblins, river-goddesses and other themes. At the base of the lower rosettes runs an ornamental band of animal and floral forms emanating from two *makarās* (Plate VI).

- 133. Madras Museum, No. 274.
- 134. Burgess, Pl. XLIII-3 to 11.
- 135. *Ibid*, Pl. XLII-9.
- 136. A. S. Photo No. 967.
- 137. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, No. 21-1520.
- 138. Musée Guimet, Paris, G. Jouveu-Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, 1917 Pl. I.
- 139. Burgess, Pl. XLVI-1 and 2.
- 140. Archaeological D.G. Office Photo No. 310 of 1911-12.
- 141. Burgess, Pl. XI-I.

The most typical examples are represented by :—

(a) Fifteen examples, many of them damaged fragments (reproduced by Burgess, Pl. V-1; VI-1; VII-2; VIII-1; IX-1; X-2; XI-2, 4; XII, XIII, XIV; Fergusson, Pl. L, LI, LII).

(b) A fragment of a pillar exquisitely decorated with a frieze of animals with a rosette depicting worship of the Tree and the Descent from Heaven.¹⁴² (Plate VII).

II. Tondos, or circular medallions (*paricakras*), at the centre of the pillars replacing the central rosettes, the same being utilized in depicting interesting scenes and to meet the demands of the illustrations of the themes required. These medallions exquisitely sculptured contain some of the finest master-pieces of the Andhra Sculpture. The most typical examples represent the following scenes:—¹⁴³

- (a) Departure of the Buddha.
- (b) The Buddha and Rāhula.
- (c) Worship of the Bodhi-Tree.
- (d) Harem scene with dancers.
- (e) Asita and the Child Buddha.
- (f) The Festival of Bodhi-Tree.
- (g) Palace scene - Dramatic Performance.
- (h) Worship of the Relic by the Nāga King.
- (i) Elevation of the Bowl-relic.
- (j) The Chaddānta Jātaka.
- (k) Cult of the Buddha as the Pillar of Fire.
- (l) Return from the City.
- (m) Quelling of the Nālagiri.

III. Coping-stones running on the rope of the encircling rails. They are sometimes divided into compartments devoted to the illustrations of different scenes and offer large horizontal spaces for elaborate treatment of a variety of themes. The most typical examples are represented by:—¹⁴⁴

- (a) Four unidentified scenes from the life of the Buddha.
- (b) Division of the Relics.
- (c) Fragment representing the Conception.
- (d) Fragment, Buddha Preaching.
- (e) Fragment, Cremation of the Body.
- (f) Various unidentified fragments.
- (g) Several examples of Yakṣas and Devās carrying 'United Floral Garlands' (*Avatamāla*).

142. (a) to (e) and (g) to (i), Fergusson, Pl. LIX, LIX, LVIII, LX, LXI, LXII-2, LXII-1 and LXXIII-2 respectively; (f), (j) to (r), Burgess, Pl. XVIII-4, XIX-1, XVII-4 and XVIII-2; (m), Madras Museum.

143. Burgess, for (a) XXV-2, XXI-2, XXII-2; (b) Pl. XXV-2; (c) Pl. XXVIII-1; (d) Pl. XXIII-3; (e) Pl. XXVIII-1; (f) Pl. XXVII, XXVI, (g) Pl. XX-1, XXI-1, XXII-1, XXIII-1, XXIV-2, XXVI-6, XXVIII-2 and 6, XXIX-1 and 3 and XXX-1.

144. Fergusson, Pl. LXXVII, LXXVIII-3.

IV. Images of the Buddha. After the completion of the railing, very probably, four standing images of the Buddha were placed at the four entrances of the stūpa at the rectangular projections at the four cardinal points facing the devotees as they entered the sanctuary for circumambulation. At similar places facing the entrance to the Śāñchī Stūpa, seated images were placed during the Gupta period. This suggestion receives confirmation from some of the replicas of the completed shrine depicted on two of the upright casing slabs from Amarāvati.¹⁴⁵ It is impossible to say if these standing figures represented the actual pictures of the completed stūpa or mere imaginative presentations of the artists. Anyway, there is no other plausible use or function to which these free standing statues could be assigned.

Some of these statues from this site appear to belong to, perhaps, the latest period of sculptural activity at Amarāvati (200-225 A.D.).

To this period appear to belong a group of three standing images:—

- (a) Headless standing image¹⁴⁶ (Plate VIII).
- (b) Headless standing image, Madras Museum.
- (c) Standing image with hands missing, Bezvada Museum¹⁴⁷ (Plate IX).
To a slightly later date belongs:—
- (d) Standing image from Guntapalle.¹⁴⁸

X. NĀGĀRJUNAKONḌA (c. 220-275 A.D.)

An old site near a hill called Nāgārjunakonḍa (*Śrī Parvata*?) (called after Ārya Nāgārjuna, the famous Buddhist Patriarch and Philosopher), about 15 miles from Macheral in the Palnad Taluq of the Guntur district on the right bank of the Krishna river, has yielded a number of Ayakastambhas (entrance pillars), several of them inscribed, and also a very large number of casing slabs exquisitely sculptured in a style closely analogous to those from Amarāvati. The carved reliefs, many of them depicting many novel and interesting scenes and subjects, prove that the School of Sculpture founded at Amarāvati was continued for nearly another century. The Pāli inscription in Brāhmi characters of the third century A.D. record that the Great Stūpa (*Mahācaitya*) at Nāgārjunakonḍa, was consecrated in the sixth year of Śrī Vīra Purisadatta, a king of the Southern Ikṣvāku dynasty who appears to have been reigning in this part of the Andhra country immediately after the Śātavāhana dynasty and one of whose inscriptions has come from Jaggayapeta. According to Vogel¹⁴⁹ this Ikṣvāku dynasty might have "come to the Krishna country from the West". Most of the benefactions to this stūpa and the related shrines and monasteries came from the princes of this Ikṣvāku dynasty of which the principal donator was a princess named Chāntisiri, sister of King Śrī Chāntamūla, maternal aunt of King Śrī Vīrapurisadatta. Amongst other donators were a princess from the dynasty of Vanavāsa (North Kanara) and a princess from Ujjaiyini, named Mahādevi Rudradharā Bhaṭṭārīka. The inscriptions cover a period of about twenty years but it is quite likely that the decorations of the stūpa covered considerable number of years and must have been continued late in the third century. Particular interest attaches to a dedicatory inscription of a donor named Bodhisiri (not

145. Burgess, Pl. LII-2.

146. A. S., Photo No. B-3.

147. A. S., Photo No. B 176.

148. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XX, 26.

149. *Ibid*, p. 10.

of the royal dynasty) relating to an apsidal temple (*Cetiya-ghara* and *Sihala-vihāra*) dedicated to the fraternities of Ceylonese monks, who were apparently located at this monastery and who were very probably the connecting links of cultural exchange between India and Ceylon. As Vogel has remarked: "Not only the mention of Sihala-Vihāra (Ceylonese Convent) but also the dedication of *Cetiya-ghara* to the *theriyas* or 'fraternities' of *Tambapanni* point to relations which must have existed between the Buddhist community of Dhannakataka and their co-religionists in the Isle of Ceylon. The existence of such relations can be easily accounted for from the sea-borne trade which was carried on between the ports of the Island and Kanṭaka-sela, the great emporium on the right bank of the Kristna river."¹⁵⁰

An inscription of Chāntisiri records that a stone monastery near the stūpa was dedicated for the use of the acāryās of the *Apara-mahāvīna śeliyo* (*Apara-śelika*) sect, just at the monastery at Amarāvati was dedicated to the monks of the *Pūrva-saila* sect.¹⁵¹ The inscription reads as follows:

"For the benefit of the Masters of the *Apara-mahāvīnaśeliya* has this pious foundation of the *Mahā-cetiya* has been completed by the Reverend Ananda who knows the *Dīgha* and the *Majjhima Nikāya* by heart.

This pious work, the *Mahā-cetiya*, was completed and the pillars were erected in the sixth year of (the reign of) King Śrī Virapurisadatta, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day."¹⁵²

The two sects known as *Pubba-* and *Aparaśelikas* probably originated from the two Buddhist convents of *Pubba-śela* and *Apara-śela* which, according to Hsueh Tshang, existed on the hills to the east and the west of the capital of Dhannakataka.

One of the inscriptions has yielded the name of a sculptor or stone-mason (*seta-vadhaki*), named Vidhika,¹⁵³ which does not appear to be a characteristically Andhra name.

Some of the inscriptions (J and K) on the sculptured slabs show that they were gifts of ordinary householders and members of their family so that it cannot be claimed that the sculptured decorations owe their inspiration exclusively to the patronage of the royal dynasty.

The decorations and embellishments were carried out under the supervision of a monk named Bhadanta Ananda, "who was a disciple of the Masters of the *Ayira-haṃga* (*Ārya-saṃgha*) who were residents of Pamnagāma". As the inscriptions record, Reverend Ananda acted as the supervisor of the *Mahā-cetiya*.¹⁵⁴

The Great Stūpa, a structure of the primitive type, which is the central monument of this site bears no sculptural decoration. The sculptured casing slabs (more than 500 in number) were mostly found round two of the smaller stūpas (No. 2 and 3) situated on an elevation to the east of the main monument. No sculptured railing has been found at the site, though the main stūpa had a circular brick railing.

150. Burgess, p.101, Watters, On Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, p.214.

151. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XX, p.17.

152. *Ibid*, p. 12.

153. *Ibid*, p. 17.

154. Annual Reports of Archaeological Survey, 1930-34, Pl. XXXIX-a.

The carved reliefs excavated from this site can be roughly classified under these heads:—

I. Carved pillars with Reliefs:—

- (a) Carved stone pillar with lotus bases and frieze of animals.¹⁵⁵
- (b) Railing pillar with four faces carved with relief of various scenes, and large reliefs of Yakṣa-goblins.¹⁵⁶
- (c) Inscribed pillar with basso-relievos from Stupa No. 9.¹⁵⁷
- (d) An inscribed pillar with five panels probably representing King Chāntamūla.¹⁵⁸ (Plate X).
- (e) Six carved pillars with octagonal faces with dancing figures and other motifs inside lotus arches and with Yakṣiṇi figures below.¹⁵⁹ Pillar No. 2 contains panels of relief representing retainers in Scythian dress (Plate XI) and one semi-nude Hellenistic figure carrying a horn (Plate XII).¹⁶⁰

II. Several slabs with reliefs of Footprints :—

- (a) Two Foot-prints, with auspicious marks found near stūpa No. 9 (Plate XIII).¹⁶¹
- (b) Inscribed slab with Footprint (*Sapadukāpaṭa*).¹⁶²

III. Upright casting slabs (*ūrdha-paṭṭās*), mostly damaged, with superposed panels divided by bands of pilasters depicting scenes from the life and other topics. The typical examples of which are the following:—

- (a) Bodhi-Tree shrine with Devās (*Yakṣas*) carrying jars.¹⁶³
- (b) Slab with panel of Nāga King and Queen.¹⁶⁴
- (c) Slab No. 6 with panel of Death of the Buddha.¹⁶⁵
- (d) Slab No. 7 with panel of Conversion of Nanda.¹⁶⁶
- (e) Slabs with two panels of unidentified scenes.¹⁶⁷
- (f) Slab No. 3 with two panels of 'Assault Māra' and 'Worship of Nāgas'.
- (g) Slab No. 9 with panel of Return of Chandaka.¹⁶⁸

155. *Ibid*, Pl. XXXIX-b.

156. *Ibid*, Pl. XXXIX-c.

157. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XX, p. 63, Ins. 1, A.S. Photo No. B. 492.

158. A.S., Photo Nos. B-367-369, and 370-375.

159. A.S., Photo Nos. 367-370.

160. A.R.A.S., 1930-34, Pl. XXXVIII-d.

161. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XX, p. 25 Ins.k.

162. A.S., Photo No. B-605

163. A.S., Photo No. B-533.

164. A.S., Photo No. B-359.

165. A.S., Photo No. B-360.

166. A.S., Photo No. B-525.

167. A.S., Photo No. B-362.

168. A.S., Photo No. B-413.

- (h) Slab with two panels of 'Night of the Departure of the Buddha'.¹⁶⁹
- (i) Slab No. 8 with panel of 'The Quelling of the Serpent'.¹⁷⁰
- (j) Slab with panel of 'Dying Prince'.¹⁷¹
- (k) Slab with panel of 'the Descent of the Bodhisattva'.¹⁷²
- (l) Slab with panel of 'the Prince Dighāvu'.¹⁷³
- (m) Slab (fragment) panel of 'the Night of Departure'.¹⁷⁴
- (n) Slab (fragment) with panel of a procession with chariot.¹⁷⁵
- (o) Slab (fragment) panel of 'the Buddha's visit to a Nāga King'.¹⁷⁶ (Plate XIV).
- (p) Slab (fragment) with panel of 'the Buddha visited by Three princes'.¹⁷⁷
- (q) Slab (fragment) with panel of the Crest-relic.¹⁷⁸
- (r) Slab with panels of 'the Nativity' and 'the Casting of the Horoscope'.¹⁷⁹ (Plate XV).
- (s) Slab with panel of 'Asita's visit' and 'Presentation to the Temple'.¹⁸⁰ (Plate XVI).
- (t) Slab with panel of 'the Assault of Māra'.¹⁸¹
- (u) Slab (fragment) with panel of worshippers.¹⁸²
- (v) Fragment of a slab of singing and dancing Devas, perhaps part of a scene of elevation of the Crest-relic.¹⁸³ (Plate XVII).

IV. Upright casing slabs (*urddha-paṭṭās*) representing effigies of the stūpa with various decorations and architectural accessories, with images of standing or seated Buddha and Bodhisattva, and with flying Devas at the top, typically illustrated in the following specimens:—

- (a) Fragment with standing image at the gate, the earliest in date.¹⁸⁴
- (b) Complete slab with stūpa and standing image.¹⁸⁵ (Plate XVIII).
- (c) Fragment of slab with standing image.¹⁸⁶

- 169. A.S., Photo No. B-361.
- 170. An. B.I.A., 1931, Pl. III.
- 171. *Ibid*, 1930, Pl. I-a.
- 172. *Ibid*, Pl. I-b.
- 173. A.R.A.S., 1930-34, Pl. XLV-d.
- 174. A.S., Photo No. B-604.
- 175. A.S., Photo No. B-533.
- 176. A.R.A.S., 1930-34, Pl. XLII-b.
- 177. A.S., Photo No. B-665.
- 178. A.R.A.S., Pl. XLVIII.
- 179. A.R.A.S., 1928-29 Pl. XLIX-1.
- 180. *Ibid*, Pl. XLIX-b.
- 181. A.S., Photo No. B-576.
- 182. A.S., Photo No. B-627, of B. 565.
- 183. Metropolitan Museum, New York.
- 184. A.S., Photo No. B-401 and B-355.
- 185. A.S., Photo No. B-620.
- 186. A.S., Photo No. B-406.

- (d) Complete slab with stūpa and standing figure of the Bodhisattva.¹⁸⁷
- (e) Complete slab with stūpa and seated image of the Buddha.¹⁸⁸
- (f) Fragment of slab with seated image of the Buddha.¹⁸⁹
- (g) Complete slab with stūpa and Māndhātā Cakravartī.¹⁹⁰

V. Upright oblong slabs (*urddha-paṭṭās*) generally representing the symbol of the Buddha as the Pillar of Fire with worshipping figures of Devas riding on lions, to analogous pillars at Śāñchī and Amarāvatī. They were used as partition slabs between the slabs with the effigies of the stūpa. The following examples are typical illustrations:—

- (a) A fragment, Pillar No. 26.¹⁹¹
- (b) Three fragments *in situ* are illustrated in a photograph.¹⁹²
- (c) A fragment Pillar (*Dharmma-stambha*) with circumambulating figures of worshippers.¹⁹³

VI. Four horizontal beams or 'cornice-stones' probably used as finials over the upright slabs with effigies of the stūpa. These are in the shape of oblong panels in an architectural setting with a decorated band at the top, carried on a series of lion, or Garuda brackets set in a deep recess below the panels. They are divided into compartments each divided by smaller perpendicular panels containing a series of mithunās and sometimes terminated by Yakṣi couples, standing on addorsed *makarās* under the cover of the flowering Kadamva-tree in the background. The panels illustrate scenes from the Life and from the Jātakas and other subjects, many of which have not been identified. According to Longhurst these beams "formed the transoms or single bars of a *torāṇa* of gateway, situated at each of the cardinal points of the Stūpa."¹⁹⁴ Typical examples are represented in the illustrations reproduced in the Archaeological Reports.¹⁹⁵

VII. Horizontal beam (*Āyaka*, "cornice-stone") with garland bearing Yakṣa goblins.¹⁹⁶

VIII. Horizontal beams (*Āyaka* "cornice-stone") with unidentified scenes alternating with architectural motifs and Gandharvas.¹⁹⁷

IX. Carved slabs with superposed figures of running animals. Trisūla symbols, stūpas, filled jars and garland-bearers, probably used as decorations, on the drum of the stūpa above the upright casing slabs. Typical examples occur in the illustrations in Longhurst's Memoirs.¹⁹⁸

- 187. A.S., Photo No. B-405 and B-354.
- 188. A.S., Photo No. B-618.
- 189. A.S., Photo No. B-407.
- 190. A.S., Photo No. B-250.
- 191. A.S., Photo No. B. 311.
- 192. A.S., Photo No. B-363.
- 193. A.R.A.S., 1927-28, p. 121.
- 194. *Ibid*, Pl. LI, LII, 1928-29, Pl. L a to d and Longhurst's Memoirs, No. 54, The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā 1938, Pl. XXIII-b, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXII to XLII.
- 195. Beam H, A.S., Photo Nos. B-435, 436.
- 196. A.S., Photo Nos. 430 to 433.
- 197. Longhurst's Memoirs (54), Pl. XIV-d, XLVI-1.
- 198. Southern Circle, Photo Nos. B-357, B-460, B-461.

X. IMAGES OF THE BUDDHA¹⁹⁹

- (a) Headless torso of the Buddha from Caitya No. 3.²⁰⁰ (Plate XIX).
- (b) Two headless torsos of the Buddha from Site No. 4.²⁰¹
- (c) Head representing the Buddha with shaven head from monastery of Site No. 2.²⁰²
- (d) Large head of the Buddha (damaged.)²⁰³
- (e) Terracotta head from Stūpa No. 9.²⁰⁴
- (f) Terracotta figures from Monastery II.²⁰⁵

XI. NĀGĀRJUNAKONḌA. (SECOND PHASE 250-300 A.D.)

- (a) An inscribed cornice-stone from Stūpa No. 4 (Beam J) illustrating scenes from the Life in three panels, divided by lotus rosettes and *mithuna* panels.
- (b) Cornice-stones (Beams No. 2 and 3).²⁰⁶
- (c) An inscribed cornice-stone (Beam No. 4) from stūpa No 9.²⁰⁷

XII. GUMMADIDURU (RĀMIREDDIPALLI) (c. 275-300 A.D.)

This site (15 miles from Amarāvati), in the Nandigāma Taluka of the Krishna district, has yielded several upright casing slabs which were attached to the face of the main Stūpa some of which were *in situ*. The carved reliefs fall under the following groups:—

- I. About 35 upright casing slabs, mostly damaged, with effigy of the stūpa.²⁰⁸
- II. Narrow upright panels with effigy of the cult of the pillar of Fire (as at Nāgārjunakonḍa) used as partitions between the Caitya slabs (typically represented in Slab No. 10 and 37).²⁰⁹
- III. Three damaged horizontal beams ("cornice-stones") with reliefs illustrating scenes from the Life with *mithuna* panels.²¹⁰
- IV. An inscribed image of the Buddha with an effigy of the donor. The inscription has been assigned to the eighth century A.D.²¹¹

199. A.S., Photo No. B-449.

200. A.S., Photo Nos. 313, 314.

201. A.S., Photo Nos. 328-330.

202. A.S. Photo No. B-573.

203. Longhurst's *memoirs* (54), Pl. No. VII-b.204. *Ibid*, Pl. VII-1.

205. A.S., Photo Nos. 337 to 351.

206. A.R.A.S., 1929-30, Pl. XXXIX, Longhurst's *memoirs* (54) Pl. XXX, XXXI.

207. A.S., Photo Nos. B-227-242, 245-261.

208. A.S., Photo Nos. B-234, B-258.

209. A.S., Photo Nos. B-243, 244 and B-253.

210. *An. Rep. S.I.E.*, 1927, p. 74.211. T.N. Rāmachandran, *Bulletin*, Pl. X.

XIII. GOLĪ (300-325 A.D.)

This site about 18 miles below Nāgārjunakonḍa is situated on the river Goleru, a tributary of the river Krishna, has yielded casing slabs and large beam stones (cornice-stones) and have been excellently described by T.N. Rāmachandran, which fall under the following classes:—

I. Inscribed Caitya Slab.²¹²II. Nāga Slab.²¹³

III. Three beams or cornice-stones containing oblong panels or friezes illustrating the Life, each scene being divided by panels of *mithuna* as at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakonḍa.²¹⁴

IV. Two upright casing slabs (damaged, with (a) the relief of the Buddha preaching, (b) Prince Siddhartha with Yakṣas holding parasols.²¹⁵

212. *Ibid*, Pl. XII.213. *Ibid*, Pls. I to XIII and XI-10.214. *Ibid*, Pl. IX-5.215. *Ibid*, Pl. IX-6.

III. BHATṬIPROLU

It is quite possible that the stūpa at Bhaṭṭiprolu to enshrine the bodily relics of the Buddha was set up about 300 B.C.

The two pieces of sculptured reliefs recovered from Bhaṭṭiprolu appear to be related to the Art of Bhārhut and some of the early caves in Western India and may be assigned to about 175 B.C., summarily described as follows :

1. A marble casing slab with a relief of a Pilaster Capital with horses and riders. The riders and the horses are addorsed and placed on the plinth of the abacus but are too damaged to afford any comparison with analogous riders figured in the Western Caves, but they are much earlier in style than the riders at Kārli. The abacus, somewhat dwarfish in shape, with turned down lotus leaves, and fringed with a series of beaded ornament, ends with larger lotus leaves, square in shape, but somewhat akin to the Sarnath Capital.

2. Damaged fragment of the lower portion of a slab from the north projection of the basement.

The legs of the figure are disposed in a nervous schematic gesture somewhat recalling that of the Sirima Devata on Bhārhut pillar (Bachhofer Pl. 21). But the more interesting feature of the piece is the remains of a dwarfish Kalaśa base of a pillar, cut up into two sections of decoration with hands of ribbed lotus leaves as ornamentation. An analogous carved pillar base with different decorative patterns from Amarāvati is cited by Burgess,²¹⁶ and apparently belongs to the earlier phase at Amarāvati.

216. Burgess, B. S. A. J., p.87, Fig. 25.

IV. JAGGAYAPET

This site is situated thirty miles north-west from Amarāvati, on the river, a tributary of the Krishna. Burgess has assigned the remains from this site to the beginning of the second century B.C. "On the upper facia of some of the slabs were a few letters of inscription, in no case sufficient to yield a name of complete word, but in characters of the Maurya type, and which may belong to as early a date as the beginning of the second century B.C." ²¹⁷ "There can be little doubt that the original structure belongs to a date considerably before the Christian Era." ²¹⁸

The sculptural remains from the site are a number of fragments (probably of casing slabs) mostly representing caryatid pillars of an archaic style, and two very interesting panels in very low relief.

The caryatid pilasters, forming decorative frames for reliefs, now lost, are decorated with Yakṣi figures (one, a Yakṣa figure) on mythical animals, very much recalling those from Bhārhut, the capital and bases of the pillars being in the form of dwarfish Kalaśas, very closely similar to analogous types at Bhaṭṭiprolu. The vehicles (*Vāhanas*) of each of the Yakṣis are different, according to the distinct personality of the rider, e.g., water-horse with fish tail (*jala turaga*)²¹⁹ water-elephant with fish tail (*jala hastin*), and water-lion with fish tail (*jala simha*). In the Atharvaveda, Varuna, the original presiding deity of the Vedic Water Cosmology is equated with and called a Yakṣa, who thus becomes in later literature a water-spirit, and thus the essential life spirit of trees (*Vṛkṣa devata*). Yakṣis have therefore aquatic animals as their carriers. In the Yajurveda (II, 3.12.2) horses are called "water-born" (*Apsu-yoni*). The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (V.6.4.1), likewise says of the horse: The sea indeed is its kindred, the sea its birthplace." Kubera's nine jewels (*nidhis*) are nearly all water symbols.

In some of the commentaries of the Amarakośa, the *jala-hasti* is given as a synonym for *avahara*. In the *Nāgānandam*, a Sankrit Buddhist drama (seventh century) *jala-kunjaras* are described as sporting in the waters of a river. In the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇi*, *jala-gandheva* is used as a synonym for *jala-hasti*.

The abacus of the capitals above the heads of these figures carries addorsed figures of mythical animals, somewhat recalling those of the animal frieze on the Bodh-Gayā railing. These capitals thus stand midway between the Aśōkan pillars and the pillars in the Western Caves (Kārli, Nāsik) both in style and in date. Both the male and female types on the Jaggayapeta pilasters ²²⁰ recall some of the types on the stūpa No. II at Śāñchī (second century B.C.).

217. B.S.J., A.P. 108.

218. *Ibid*, p. 111.

219. Cf., 'mina-vaji', Mahābhārata, III, 173-50 and 51.

220. Burgess, B.S.J.A., Pl. LV, Fig.1, 3 and 4.

It may be remarked that the exaggerated hips and attenuated waist some of these Yakṣi figures are anticipating the slim nervous types of later Amarāvati reliefs. The squat dwarfish type is rapidly yielding to a slim longish type as illustrated in the attendant female figure in the slab next described.

A. ŚRĪ-PĀDUKA SHRINE

This is also a very fine low relief, representing a round topped temple with a gable-window and four Kalāṣas (of the *Pallava-ratha* type), enshrining in the inner sanctum the Foot-print of the Buddha (*Śrī-pāduka*), under an umbrella hung with garlands, and flanked by two female figures (one of them defaced) carrying offerings, perhaps representing devotees, or *Salabhanjikas*. Outside, stands a male devotee perhaps the *Rāja Cakravartin* represented in the second slab. The slab was enclosed by a raised border flanked by two caryatid Yakṣi figures one of which has survived in very much damaged condition, standing on a *jalebha* (water-elephant), placed on a dwarfish Kalāṣa-base.

In this connection three architectural fragments may be considered here.²²¹ Two of them are comparatively well preserved octagonal pillars (without Yakṣis) surmounted by lotus-capitals supporting addorsed mythical animals, supported by Yakṣa Atlantes on decorated kalasa-bases.

The third one is a fragment of a frieze of geese with lotus reminding one of Aśoka's pillar at Sarnath.

Alternatively, the theme of the relief may be identified as the shrine of the Yakṣa, named Divaukasa who was the great friend and protector of Rājā Māndhātā, and fulfilled all his desires and ambitions, at his bidding, like a faithful servant. In the elaborate story of the anecdotes of Māndhātā, given in the *Divyāvadāna*²²² at every step this benevolent Yakṣa acts as his friend, philosopher and guide.²²³

MĀNDHĀTĀ, RĀJĀ CAKRAVARTIN

This slab is similar in style, and was framed in a like architectural scheme with caryatids, a fragment of which has survived on the right (not reproduced in the Plate). This is a representation of the righteous Emperor Māndhātā also known as Mūrdhātā (so called because born from the head of his father Ānandopashada), whose miraculous exploits in all parts of the Earth and in the Heavens through the grace and help of his protective Yakṣa Divaukasa are narrated with many romantic details in the *Māndhātāvadānam*.²²⁴

As indicated in early Buddhist literature,²²⁵ an Universal Sovereign, a Cakravartin must possess as emblems of his Royalty the Seven Treasures: cakra (wheel), an elephant, a horse, a resplendent jewel, a queen, a treasurer and a minister. The treasurer and the minister are designated by the respective terms *grhapati* (lit. a householder, who must needs lay by some amount of riches) and *parinayaka* (he who guides or advises) in the *Divyāvadāna*²²⁶ 'possess the Seven Jewels, namely, the wheel, the elephant, the horse,

221. Burgess, Pl. XLIX, Fig. 5, 6 and 8.

222. *Divyāvadāna*, Ch. XVII, p. 210 ff.

223. *Ibid*, p. 211, line 5; "tasya ca Divan keso nāma Yakṣaḥ purojavah...".

224. *Ibid*, Ch. XVII.

225. *Mahāvastu udassana Sutta*, S.B.E. XI; S.B.B. 7, IV; and *Lokkhana Suttanta* S.B.S., IV, Mandhatu-Jataka.

226. *Divyāvadāna*, XVIII, p. 213, "Santi me sapta ratnāni tad yatha cakra-ratnani, hasti-ratnāni, asva-ratnāni, mantri-ratnāni, grhapati-ratnāni, stri-ratnāni, parinayaka ratnāni evāni sapta māni."

the jewel (?), the treasurer, the wife, and the minister—these are the seven'. In other reliefs, the Wheel (*Cakra*) and the Jewel (*Maṇi*) are represented, in the background, as resting on pillars with lotus-capitals, very familiar to us in Aśoka monuments. The Umbrella (*chatra*), not indicated in the texts, is introduced as the inevitable emblem of a *Rāja-Cakravartin*.

The actual anecdote represented in the invocation to the gods to rain down golden coins (*niṣkas*) from the clouds which are represented schematically by rhomboid(?) shapes very like rounded lotus leaves, and the rain of coins (square types, met with in early Indian coins) indicated by five incised parallel lines continuous at the top, and in detached pieces at the lower ends of the shafts of "rain". The desire of the King for a rain of gold is very picturesquely phrased in the *Divyāvadāna*: "O! let there rain down gold in my seraglio for a period of seven days, so that not a single coin may drop outside".²²⁷

Though the story of Māndhātā is as old as Jātakas, the text of the *Divyāvadāna* (a late version of the story) fairly accords with the details of our relief, and affords a faithful commentary, and it is possible that some early version of this text may have been available to the sculpture.

Though archaistic in many details, the story is told with considerable skill and dramatic emphasis. The 'royal gesture' with the outspread hand studied by Coomaraswamy in his paper "A Royal Gesture and Some Other Motifs"²²⁸ is, of course, an ancient convention, of which this is, perhaps, the earliest representation in plastic Art. Interesting literary parallels are provided in the *Mahābhārata*: 'Thy hand can rain gold' (Bhīma addressing Yudhiṣṭhira) and in the *Buddhacarita* (I, 22): 'Like a range of clouds she relieved the people about her from the sufferings of poverty by raining showers of gifts'. The details of the dresses and jewellery offer very fruitful data for comparison with related sculpture from Bhārhut and Bodh-Gayā. The square frame of the ear-rings as well as the flat necklace, and the lotus pattern armlet on the upper-arm recall similar ones on the Bhārhut Yakṣas. The many-stringed girdle of the queen and her knotted scarf (*uttariya*) hanging out at the ends remind one of similar devices on Bhārhut Yakṣis. The cross-marked navel is a too familiar early convention. The cluster of bells for the lady's anklet is an interesting innovation. The conical volute on the top-knot on the typically northern head-gear (*mauli-paṭṭa*, *pagḍi*, *mureṭhā*) is, perhaps, the insignia of a Rājā Cakravartin. A comment may be offered on the history of the wound-up plaited head-gear so frequently occurring at Bhārhut and Sāñchī. It is the archaic prototype of the typical North Indian *pagḍi*, (*mureṭhā*) still in use. It developed from manner of tying up the hair in knots and was known in Vedic literature as 'Kaparda': 'Those who wear thin hair knots on the right have won me over'.²²⁹

But the most interesting convention in the treatment of the drapery (*dhōti*) is the curl of the end of the *dhōti* round the knees of all the figures, indicated by two incisions, links up the style with Mauryan models (see similar treatment of *dhōti*-end in the two Yakṣa statues from Patna).²³⁰

The plastic style of these early reliefs calls for a few remarks. The character of the reliefs is almost flat in their low superficial elevation and very sparsely modelled, the legs being almost angular. The

227. *Ibid*, p. 213, lines, 29-30, "Aho vatame antahpure saptahani hiranyam varṣani pated eka- kersāpanopi vahirna nipater."

228. *Feest bundel K. Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, I 1929, pp. 25-61.

229. *Rgveda*, 7.2.33, Griffith II, p. 34.

230. Bachhofer, Pl. X.

disposition and balancing of the elements offer fine sense of composition in related grouping and organization (lacking at Bhārhut), without detracting from its graphic story-telling power. Cushions are introduced for all the figures to indicate that, although represented at different heights, they are all standing on earth. If they were superhuman beings lotus would have replaced cushions. The richly caparisoned horse (almost recalling illustrations in Rājput and Moghul pictures) is a considerable improvement on the clumsy stiff immobility of the wooden types at Bhārhut.²³¹

The practice of assigning a higher size to the principal personage of a story is an artistic convention which persists through the whole history of Indian Art.

Both in the stylistic peculiarities and iconographic details, the reliefs are nearer to the School of Bhārhut than to that of Bodh-Gayā and cannot be later than 200 B.C. and offer in many respects distinguished examples of early Indian sculptural relief.

231. *Ibid*, Pls. XVII, XXII.

V. AMARĀVATĪ

(ARCHAIC PERIOD, 200-100 B.C.)

Attention has been drawn first by Coomāraswāmy and later, by Rāmachandran²³² to a very ancient inscribed pillar-carving now in the Madras Museum, which on the basis of comparison with Bhārhut lable-inscriptions has to be assigned to about 200 B.C. The reliefs very crude and archaistic in formula are jumbled together, but offer sufficient details for identification of the scenes. Kempers,²³³ who argues that the reliefs are contemporaneous with the railing of Bhārhut, interprets the carvings as a synoptical rendering of the Cycle of the Great Renunciation, viz., the Concert, the Sleep of the Woman, Chandaka entering the Room, and the Flight from Kepilavastu. In the later reliefs at Amarāvati, these scenes are rendered on independent panels, clearly distinguished from each other, whereas in this archaic relief, perhaps the earliest representation of these scenes, the incidents are crowded into one confused composition.

The most important technical feature of the relief is the treatment of water (on the right side of the fragment), either representing a 'reservoir' (*udaka-ṭhāna*, *udaka-śālā*, as suggested by Coomāraswāmy) or the river Nairanjana (called Neramjara in the fragmentary inscription below as read and interpreted by Rāmachandran). The water, here, rendered in peculiar wavy lines, conventionalised, is, perhaps, the earliest pilastic representation of a river in Indian Art. Its convention has to be compared and contrasted with the treatment of water on the reliefs at Śāñchī, and on Southern Rajasthani miniatures from Guzarat (e.g. *Vasanta-vilāsa* Scroll). The head-gears of the male figures appear to be more archaistic than those met with on Bhārhut reliefs thus suggesting an earlier date.

There have been considerable discussions and controversy as to the identification of the subject-matter of the relief, considerably damaged at the centre, which makes all attempts at identification very much tantalizing and risky. Coomāraswāmy²³⁴ identified these reliefs as representing the funeral ceremonies and ritual connected with the *Parinibbāna*, while Rāmachandran, identifies the scenes as the Archery Contest, the *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*, and the Bodhisattva washing the hempen garment, and the Temptation. Kempers generally accepts the identifications of Coomāraswāmy with some reservation. All agree in emphasizing on the antiquity of this fragmentary relief. "In all probability they are contemporaneous with the railings of Bhārhut. This may be inferred from the similarity of style and writing and also the fact that explanatory inscriptions have been added. This representation of the cycle therefore is much earlier than all other examples known. This is the main point of interest of the present sculpture."²³⁵

232. *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. X, p. 153.

233. *Ibid*, p. 370.

234. *Revue des Arts Asiatique*, V, 1928, pp. 244-47; "Un fragment de la haute époque d'Amarāvati. Notes Sur La Sculpture Bouddhique".

235. Kempers, Loc. cit. p. 370.

AMARĀVATĪ
(FIRST PERIOD, 100 B.C.)

The stūpa at Amarāvati appears to be later than that of Jaggayapeta, and its archaic architectural decorations—the marble casing slabs—a few fragments of which have survived are later than those of Bhaṭṭiprolu and Jaggayapeta to which however they are closely related.

The early dates of some of the fragments from Amarāvati can be based on the support of epigraphic evidence of which the most important is the one discovered on a small pillar fragment found in the south-east quadrant where most of the earliest sculptures were found. The epigraph which is in Mauryan characters of about 200 B.C. gives name of the donor of the pillar: 'The shaft given by General *Mṛdukumtala*'.²³⁶

1. PILASTER WITH WINGED ANIMALS

A further link is provided by the archaistic character of the pilaster bearing winged figures on the capitals. "These latter are so very like those of Jaggayapeta and Pithalkhora, that there can be no doubt that they are of the same age and much earlier than the common style of sculptures here."²³⁷ This link is evident from a relief with caryatid pillar-frame from Amarāvati representing worship of the Foot-print²³⁸ (Plate XX).

The Yakṣi figure on the pilaster is missing, but the jars of the capital and base and the fish-tail of the *vahana* are unmistakable. It is really the worship of the Bodhi-tree, though the Foot-print is introduced as an incidental detail. The clumsy archaic type of this composition, related to Śāñchī reliefs, is yet far away from the charming elegance of the later Amarāvati reliefs.

2. ASSAULT OF MĀRA

To this period belongs also a simple "primitive" relief combining the Assault of Māra with the Offering of Sujāta, Buddha, being represented by the emblem of Pillar of Fire. The subject is repeated in a later Amarāvati relief.²³⁹

One is tempted to include within the early phase at Amarāvati three relief fragments. Their stylistic peculiarities and types are akin to some of the so-called portrait-sculptures of the donors (*dānapatis*) of the Kārli and Kanheri Caves, particularly, in the types of women figures and their drapery and ornaments. At the same time they do not accord to the later style of Amarāvati.

3. WORSHIPPING KING

A king (so designated by his umbrella) and attendants, one of them carrying the fly-whisk, cannot be identified; the inscription, a mutilated fragment, has not been read.²⁴⁰

236. A.S. Report, I.S., Vol. I, Pl. XVI, p. 101, *senagopasa Mudakatalasa thabo*.

237. Burgess, p. 23.

238. Fergusson, Pl. LXXVIII-2; Coomāraswāmy, E.B.I., Pl. III-11.

239. Coomāraswāmy, E.B.I., Pl. II, Fig. 8 = Burgess, Pl. XXIII-4, Fragments of Figures.

240. Fergusson, Pl. XCV-3.

4. MĀNDHĀTA

This composition very much damaged includes at the top the jewel wheel and the horse may possibly represent Māndhātā.²⁴¹

5. MAN AND CHILD

An archaic composition of a man carrying an object (purse or a mirror) with his left hand resting on the head of a diminutive figure carrying a sheaf appears to fall within the early phase of Amarāvati Art. The style and the treatment of the drapery in clumsy knots recall features of the Yakṣa statues from Patna.²⁴² (Plate XXI).

6. BUDDHA-PĀDUKĀ (FOOTPRINTS OF THE BUDDHA)

Two reliefs representing the cult of the Footprint with worshipping figures appear to fall within the early period.²⁴³

The most interesting feature is the diminutive size of the four adorators one on each side. In later representations the worshipping figures again in size, the Footprints diminishing to insignificant proportions as in the centre of each foot, over which are the Nandipāda (or the *trisūla*) flanked by Śvastikas. On the digits of the fingers all webbed together are the symbols of Nandipāda and the composite symbol of the cakra and the trisūla.

In the Buddhacarita (I, 60) the Brahmin astrologer recognizes the auspicious marks of the cakra on the soles of the Buddha's feet. "The great seer wonderingly beheld the soles of His feet marked with a wheel, the fingers and toes joined by a web" (*Cakrāṅga pādāṃ sa tato maharṣir jalā-vanaddhāṅguli-pāṇi pādāṃ. savismayaṃ rajasutaṃ ādarṣa*).

7. THE BATH IN THE NAIRANJANĀ

(Museum of Fine Arts, Boston : see Bulletin No. 160, April 1929).

Two peculiarities distinguish this piece from the later style of Amarāvati :

1. Thick-waisted, square, dwarfish (?) types of the figures, particularly of the women, which appear to connect them with the Northern types of Śāñchī (c. 100—50 B.C.).

2. The type of the archaic pilaster with vase-base with a water-horse, a fragment of which survived at the left corner of our relief, akin to similar ones from Bhaṭṭiprolu and Jaggayapeta, and at Amarāvati (first period), mostly dating from the second century B.C. On the basis of the Kuṣāṇa type of the turban of the Nāga, Coomāraswāmy²⁴⁴ has hesitated to place it as early as second or the first century B.C., and

241. *Ibid*, Pl. XCV-4.

242. B.S.A.J., Pl. LI-2.

243. (1) Coomāraswāmy, E.B.I., Pl. IV, Fig. 13 = Burgess, Pl. LIII-1; (2) Burgess, Pl. LII, No. 8 and 6, LXXXVII-3.

244. M.F.A., Bulletin No. 160, p. 21.

probably, early in the first century A.D. should be the approximate date. There is a similar slab²⁴⁵ with similar types from the same site which related these pieces to the Northern style, clearly to be distinguished from the local Southern style which developed late.

8. ANIMAL MOTIFS: BULL, LION AND EAGLE (SUPARNA)

A series of fragments in low relief depicting animal figures, some with wings, recall analogous figures at Bhārhut and Bodh-Gayā. As we shall find three motifs survive in the later phases, in livelier forms and in organized decorative compositions²⁴⁶ (Plate XXII).

9. TREE-NYMPH²⁴⁷

Closely akin to the Śāñchī Yakṣis, but somewhat attenuated in form is a Tree-nymph differently posed, and placed inside a gable-window niche (*kudu*) as an architectural frame. This is a very interesting document illustrating the breaking away from the style of Northern School. The set poses of the Bhārhut and Śāñchī Yakṣis are brushed aside in favour of a novel attitude in the act of putting on an ear-ring. The relief may be placed in the first century A.D. (Coomāraswāmy suggests second century A.D., or earlier).

This practically closes a summary of the important remnants of the Amarāvati School which can be placed with confidence within the First Phase.

To characterize the few fragments of the early phases of Buddhist Sculpture at Amarāvati, we have sought the similarities as well as the divergencies in iconographic details and stylistic features. The phase is, undoubtedly, a continuation of the Madhyadeśa School, perhaps, by the same guild of artists, working in a different environment and geographical conditions and with different materials. The architectural affinities, with replicas of stone pilasters with Yakṣi caryatids, link up with the Cave architecture of the West (particularly of the Pitalkhora Cave) most of which are later than these Amarāvati architectural fragments. In some of the human figures there is a tendency to break away from the style of Bhārhut and Śāñchī—a tendency to adopt a freer and original treatment of the human form, an inclination for finer modelling, and for deeply cut relief.

AMARĀVATĪ SECOND PHASE

We now come to the second period of the Amarāvati Style which opens a new and magnificent era in the history of Indian Sculpture.

In order to follow the beginning of a new era in Buddhist Art in this Southern centre, it is necessary to realise the new movements which have been stirring within the creed and dogmas of the Buddhist religion and bringing about momentous changes in its creed, outlook and practice. This new ebullition brought about radical and revolutionary changes, which were effected by devotional popular reactions

245. Burgess, B.S.A.J., Pl. L Fig. 1.

246. Burgess, Pl. XXX, Fig. 2-5, Pl. XXXI, Fig. 4 = Coomāraswāmy Yakṣa II Fig. 50.

247. Coomāraswāmy, Yakṣa, I Pl. II, 3, p.32 and 40 = Burgess, Pl. XLIX, Fig. 7.

In the early Art of Bhārhut and Śāñchī, Buddhism had not formulated any characteristic formulas or ideas corresponding to its doctrine, but was using for its own end the current formulas of Yakṣa cult and its related mythology, already firmly rooted in popular belief. In fact the Catur-Mahārājas, the Yakṣa-Regents of the Four Quarters Vaiśravaṇa (*Kuvera*) and others—are adopted as guardians or protectors of the Buddhist Faith and are represented as door-keepers on the gates of the shrines, as at Bhārhut and Śāñchī. And the cult and the mythology of the Yakṣas are woven into Buddhist stories and legends for the glorification of the new religion. At an earlier stage, the Yakṣa cult was not completely assimilated to the tenets of Buddhism. According to the text of the Mahāmayūri, *Kuvera* is made to say that there are some *Yakkhas* who believe and others who do not believe in the Buddha. "But for the most part, Lord *Yakkhas* do not believe in the Exalted One."²⁴⁸ In the later stage, Yakṣas do indeed figure as attendants on the Exalted One; and as "*arakkha devatās*" (guardian-spirits) of the stūpas, the setting up and worship of stūpas in honour of the Buddha being the only nominally new cult introduced by early Buddhism. For, the setting up of stūpas to great sages and kings was already an ancient and pre-Buddhist practice. In the *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* (42, 42), it is stated that his funeral monument should be like that of a Universal Monarch (*Rāja-Cakravartin*) and his cairn (stūpa) should be set up at four cross-roads. He further gave a list of persons 'who were worthy of a stūpa'. (*stūparha*).

Anyhow, in Early Buddhism this was the only opportunity afforded to believers to use the stūpa as object of personal adoration, and as the cited texts appear to indicate, a cult of the Adoration of the Stūpa grew up, originating with a special sect called the "Caitya-vandakas," whose examples must have been universally adopted by all sects and groups of believers.

By the second century B.C., a cult of the worship of the Foot-prints (*Śrī-pāda*, *pada-nyāsa*, or *carana-nyāsa*), must have been an established ritual. This seems to be corroborated by the *Śrī-pādas* with worshipping figures from the First Period of Amarāvati cited above. It came to be believed that these replicas were modelled on the original Foot-prints left by the Buddha Himself. Special representations of it, as the one on Adam's Peak in Ceylon, were objects of pilgrimage. The shrines came to be known as *Pada-Caityas* (*Pāli: Pāda-cetiya*). Among the presents sent by Aśoka to King Tissa of Ceylon was the sacred symbol of *pāduka*.²⁴⁹

In addition to the three symbolical representations of the Buddha (*Stūpa*, *Bodhidruma*, and *Śrī-pāda*) a fourth emblem makes its appearance—it is the 'Pillar of Fire' of which the earliest representation is perhaps the one on an archaic panel at Amarāvati of the First Period (c. 100 B.C.). It is a shaft fringed on both sides with well-marked indentations of flames and is crowned with the *Trisūla*, and is terminated with the feet (*pāduka*) supported by the lotus. It occurs in numerous later reliefs at Śāñchī, sometimes without the *Śrī-pāduka*. Sometimes, the saintliness (*arhatta*) the potential spiritual energy of the Buddha is indicated by words suggesting 'sharp fiery emery'²⁵⁰ In the Dhammapād (387) the Buddha is said to glow with fiery emery (*tapati tejasā*).

But these symbolical and summary signs and emblems of the Buddha were not sufficient to appease the thirst of popular devotional theism, continually demanding an anthropomorphic image for nearly four centuries. As suggested by some of the legends, it is quite possible, though it cannot be proved that

248. Levi.s., *Le Catalogue de Yakṣa*, T.A., 1915.

249. Mahāvamsa Ch. XI, Verse 28, "*Valavijani-murhisam khaggam chaiteanca padukam molim vatamsam pamangam bhinkaram hari-candanam*".

250. *Theri-gadha*, 1095, "Ugge-tejo".

some portrait or realistic effigy of the Master was attempted or accomplished during His lifetime. When the lay followers grew tired of the symbolic representations of the Buddha, some patriarchs must have conceived a more attractive instrument for capturing the imagination of the populace (*laukikam cittam upadāyitum*) and originated the worship of the image of the Buddha. This appears to have been initiated about the end of first century B.C. or the beginning of the Christian era. Coomāraswāmy has demonstrated that the first image of the Buddha must have been formulated by the artists of Mathurā School, which was the source and emporium of Buddha images for several centuries. The first Buddha image of the Mathurā type according to the iconographic evidence adduced by Coomāraswāmy was first originated about the end of the first century B.C., and it was formulated on the ancient indigenous model of the images of Yakṣas, the plastic conceptions and patterns of which go back to Mauryan times, and persists up to very late times and are illustrated in the portraits of the Regents of the Four Quarters on the pillars of the Śāñchī gateways. When the image of the Buddha was carved by the stone-masons of Gāndhāra during, or shortly before the reign of Kanīśka, they might have formulated their patterns for the standing image on the basis of the models of the Lateran Sophocles or of the image of Christ from Christian Sarcophagus, a type of representation which can be clearly distinguished from the indigenous Indian types evolved by the artists of Mathurā and based on an ancient and absolutely native Indian tradition. The leading characteristic of the Gāndhāra type was the pleated folds of the drapery, which has been sometimes used, quite independently, by the Mathurā School. Yet they consistently adhered to the manner, style and technique of the older Indian pattern, the drapery and pose of which are inherited from the ancient Yakṣa statues. This is typically illustrated in the inscribed image of the Bodhisattva (Sārnāth Museum) set up by Friar Bala in the third year of the reign of Kanīśka (c. 81 A.D.) The studios of Mathurā were ringing with the chisels of the Indian artists to meet the demand of their devout patrons, contemporaneously with the prolific productions of images and other sacred accessories for worship in Gāndhāra. For within a hundred years after Christ, an enormous demand had grown up in various parts of India for setting up images of the Exalted One, and various texts recommending the worship of images came into existence, some of which, ascribed the sanction for images to the Buddha Himself. One text puts into the mouth of the Buddha the recommendation that after His Decease and Extinguishment, images should be set up for worship (*Mayi mrte parinirhṛte sati satkāṛārtham pratimāpūja kārayitavyā*). And laudatory recommendations suggesting merits to accrue from the pious gifts of images to temples were formulated in many texts, which stimulated the pious devotees to set up innumerable images of the Blessed One, and other related images and statues dictated by the rich and crowded pantheon of the Mahāyānist School. To this passionate demand of embellishing Buddhist shrines with the images of the Buddha, the artists of the Amarāvati School enthusiastically responded, and, incidentally, made rich and original contribution to the formulation of the Buddha image. The types which they contributed to the Buddhist pantheon, though related to the Schools of the North, are marked by original features and characters, which easily distinguish them from the Northern productions.

It must be noted, however, that though the introduction of the image of the Master, contributed a new motif to Buddhist Art, the practice of representing the Buddha by symbols was not wholly discarded, and continued to offer a rich variety of patterns, compositions and designs for embellishing and glorifying new as well as old Buddhist shrines for the edification of the multitude.

The third chapter (Second Phase) in the development of the Amarāvati School opened with a richer vocabulary of thematic materials than was ever available to any Buddhist artist previous to the Christian Era. In literature, a large volume of materials had grown up round the life of the Blessed One,

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which added enormously to the stories of the Jātakas in richly edited, picturesquely composed, and romantically conceived narratives of the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Avadāna satakas*, and *Asōkāvadāna*, put into shape with all the artistry and imagination of gifted and skilful literary masters. To these romantic prose compositions the poets added their masterpieces and the life of the Blessed One found poetic interpretation in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Buddhacarita*. All these literary reinforcements offered valuable inspirations to the Plastic Artists. At the beginning of the Christian Era, Buddhist thought and culture experienced a new Renaissance and witnessed a renewed activity in pious devotional exercises, one of which turned to the renovational additions, and embellishments to old foundations. The first example was set at Bhārhut and Śāñchī, where wonderfully carved gateways were completed about fifty years before Christ.

The devotees at the Southern centres were not to be beaten by their compeers in the North, and under the inspiration and guidance of the Patriarch Nāgārjuna, the old stūpa at Amarāvati began to be repaired, renovated and embellished by a King of the Śātavāhana dynasty. According to Tibetan accounts²⁵¹ Nāgārjuna "surrounded the Great Shrine of Dhānyakataka (Amarāvati) with a railing."

We have some authentic confirmation of this probable association and patronage of a Śātavāhana King in a damaged epigraph which has been attributed to the reign of Śrī Yajña Puṣamāvi, of whom several inscriptions appear at the cave temples at Nāsik, Kārli and Kanheri and also on the gateway at Śāñchī. The Amarāvati inscription of this King reads as follows:

1. (Si) dham Rano V (asi) (th)(i) put (sa) s (a)m(i) Siri Puṣamavis... savacchara... Pimdasutariyana (m) Kahutaraghapatisa Purigahapatisa ca putsa Isilasa sabhatukasa(sama) (? Samatukasa).....

2. ...saginikas (? sabhaginikasa) bhayya chasa Nakanikaya saputaka (sa) (Bhagavato) Mahacetiye Cetikiyanam nikasa parigahe aparadāre dhamacakam dēdham(mam th)-apiṭa.

"Hail(In)the year... of the King, the son of the queen of the Vāsistha family, the Lord Śrī Puṣamāvi at the Western Gate, a Dharma-cakra was established, a meritorious gift to the great Caitya (of the Exalted One) (and) in possession of the School of the Chaitikiyas, by (two) Pimdasutriyas (viz.) by the householder Kahutara and by Isila (Rsila) the son of the householder Puri with his brothers (with his mother) With his sisters and with his wife Nakanika (Nāganika) with his sons...

The Great Caitya (*mahā-cetiya*), according to this record and numerous other epigraphs, belonged to the sects of Caitika School, otherwise called the Pūrva-śailas, a sub-division of the Mahāsāṅghikas and appears to connect the Amarāvati Caitya with the Pūrva-śaila Sanghārāma mentioned by Hsueh Tshang.

Another record²⁵² refers to the name of Mahārāja Yajña Śrī Śātakarni (c. 181 A.D.) though the actual donors of the epigraphs are private individuals. The epigraph is dated in the reign of the Śātavāhana King Vāsiṣṭhiputta Puṣamāvi but the donation is not by him, but by a family of householders.

"Munakala...kumudaputa rakasa Vahilasa Kanhiya putasa ta....Ye Budhika sa Bhariya...sa... Kusuma dhuḍu Kanayatasa dasadati mita badavasa deya dhama Mahārāja Yajña Siri Sadakaṇi vatha".

251. Schiefner's translation Taranath's *History of Buddhism*, p. 72, J.A.S.B., Vol. LI, p. 119 *Ind-Ant.* Vol. XII, p.88.

252. Fergusson, Appendix E, p. 261, IX.

If this epigraph does not actually establish the patronage of the Śātakarnis in renovating this stūpa in the second century A.D., a mutilated fragment of a statue with a fragmentary inscription appears to provide the connecting link. According to Aravamuthan²⁵³ the mutilated figure²⁵⁴ with the epigraph 'Gotamīna ma . . . (dānam)' may represent either Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarni I, or Gautamiputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarni II belonging to the second century A.D., and "which must have been placed in the architectural addenda to the stūpa at Amarāvati." The joint palms (*anjali-hasta*) seem to suggest the conventional picture of a donor (*dānapati*) and the manner of the drapery akin to analogous types of donors at Kārli and Kanheri suggests a secular personage, probably the patron king who may have helped the renovations and additions to the stūpa. If this is Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarni who probably ascended the throne about 14 A.D., then the innovations to the stūpa may be said to have begun at the opening of the century; if the portrait represents Gautamiputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarni II, whose approximate date is 152 A.D., then the renovation must have begun after the middle of the second century and the gift of the Dharmmacakra by Kahutara was earlier in date, and anticipated the royal innovations. This view seems to accord with other archaeological evidences, which suggest that minor additions to the Mahācaitya must have begun early in the century.

For instance, the four series of upright pillars (which have been designated as āyakkhambe) in groups of five on the four facades of the caitya were most probably put up at the beginning of the century. These so-called āyakas had apparently no structural function, unless they were (as may be reasonably believed) supports for lamps (*dīpa-stambhas*) for lighting up the relic-casket in the harmika at the top. The most important part of the stūpa in the eyes of Buddhist devotees, would be the place, where the relic was deposited and, the lamps should be placed at a height so as to make the relic chamber visible at night. The rows of five upright pillars unless they were lamp posts (*dīpādānam*) could not fulfil a structural or decorative purpose. That lamp-pillars (*divakhambe*) were set up is supported by an inscription on an octagonal pillar²⁵⁵ which runs as follows: "Success! By Khada (*skanda*) the wife of the Householder Sidhatha of the Jāḍikiya (family, or school) with her daughters, with her sons, with her mother, with her brothers, with the daughter-in-law in her house (and by her) Great Caitya of the Exalted One as an abode of merit.²⁵⁶ The fact that the existence of some of these lamp-posts is contradictory to the suggestion that the āyaka stambhas, placed a little higher near the waist of the drum, were meant to be lamp posts. Burgess' suggestion²⁵⁷ that āyaka perhaps means "entrance or gate-pillars" does not discount the possibility of their being lamp-posts, the lights on which would not only illuminate the passage at the entrance but also the relic-chamber above.

That they were indispensable addenda to a caitya from very early times will appear from a replica (Fig. 6) of a caitya in its simpler form before decorative casing slabs or railings were added to the same. Though the replica is borrowed from Goli, a later monument,²⁵⁸ it gives a plausible picture of the Amarāvati Caitya at about the beginning of the century, before the renovations added new structures and

253. *South Indian Portraits*, Madras, pp. 1, 6 and 7.

254. Burgess, Pl. LII, 9.

255. *Ibid.*, p. 103, No. 38, Pl. LIX.

256. "Siddhaim Jāḍikiyanam siddhatha-gahapatisa bhariyaya Khadaya sadhutukaya saputikaya samatukayasabhatukasa (sa-) gharasu (nha) ya sahananatihi Bhagavato mahā-cetiya pāda mule apāno dhammathana divakhami bho patithavito".

257. Burgess, P. III, footnote 1.

258. Rāmachandran T.N., *Bulletin*, Gli, pl.X.

décorations. The putting up of these upright āyakas might have been suggested by the uprights supporting the central lintels on the gates of Śāñchi.

AN OCTAGONAL PILLAR

It is quite possible, that the delicately carved octagonal pillar²⁵⁹ though not an āyaka, was a lamp-post, and three symbols on pillars, carved on the different faces of this pillar are reminiscent of three uprights supporting the middle lintel on the Eastern Gate at Śāñchi.²⁶⁰ The symbols on the pillars are supported by lotus stems emanating from *pūrṇa-ghata*, and *guhyaka*, inherited from earlier monuments, but are chiselled, here, with exquisite skill and taste, and are not mere repetitions of set formulas and patterns. In this series of exquisitely chaste and delicately chiselled reliefs we are in the presence of a new style of a new school of sculptor's art, far in advance of that Central India and Bodh-Gayā.

The inscription on the pillar records that it is "the gift of a pillar to the caitya by Hagha, a perfumer, together with his son and his daughter."²⁶¹

The earliest decorations in the Second Period at Amarāvati appear to have been a series of upright slabs set up round the drums as 'casing slabs' near the lower end (*pāda-mūle*) of the caitya. They are designated variously as pataka, pattaka; upata, udha-pata, udham pata (*urdha-patta*, *urdham-patta*) and once, very characteristically, as *Yaghapata* (*Yamgha-paṭṭa*) or 'Jamb slabs'.²⁶² According to the Mahāvamsa,²⁶³ these were called "*śilāmayaṁkancukam*": "He encased the cetiyo in a superb case of stone." ". . . expending another lac, he built a cetiyo at the Cetiyo Viharo and encased it with stone."²⁶⁴

That these upright slabs had not structural purpose and were not connected with the rails subsequently put up but were placed round the waist of the caityo near the basement overlooking the procession path of pilgrims for the purpose of exciting their devotional feelings (in the words of the Buddha) "to stir up deep feelings" will appear from the following inscriptions: *Damila-Kanhasa bhātunam ca Culakanhasa Nākhāya ca (dā) na Mahā-cetiya-pāda-mule udhampaṭo*: "An upright slab, at the foot of the Great Caitya, the gift of the Tamil Kanha (Krishna) and (his) brother and sister Culakanha (Kshulla-Krishna) and Nākhā."²⁶⁵

Most of these upright slabs of earlier phases of the Second Period represented carved reliefs of Buddha Symbols and Plant Symbols and representations of the Bodhi-Tree with worshippers. This manner of decorating a stūpa by sculptured casing slabs appears to be a new innovation introduced at Amarāvati for the first time, though analogous decoration also occur in some late replicas of stūpas from Sikri and other sites of Gāndhāra.²⁶⁶

259. Fergusson, Pl. LXXXIX.

260. Foucher, *Beginnings*, Pl. X.

261. Fergusson, Appendix, E, p. 261, No. V, "Godhikasa Haghasa saputakasa sadhutukasa, cetiya thabo dānam".

262. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Appendix E, p. 261.

263. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXXIII, 23-25.

264. *thupārāme ca thūpassam śilā-kañcuka-muttamam*, 23; *kañcukam khandhakatthūpe karapesi śilāmayaṁ*, 25.

265. Burgess, p. 104, No. 41.

266. Foucher, 'Le Bas-Relief Greco-Boudhiques du Gandhara, I, Fig. 73, 75.

The practice of encasing the waist of the drum of the stūpa with slabs containing edifying symbols of the Faith, for the first time introduced at Amarāvati, adds not only a new chapter to Stūpa Architecture but also a new scope for a new pattern of edifying stone-pictures, for which there is no exact precedent in the earlier phases of Buddhist Art. They are the earliest ancestors of the edifying panels set up round the circumambulation paths (*pradakṣiṇa-paṭha*) in the various galleries at the stūpa of Borobudur (Jāva, ninth century A.D.).

At Amarāvati, the series of casting slabs attained a height of about 3.20 meters a space which was sometimes covered by two slabs one over the other, and sometimes by one slab divided into three panels. Most of these slabs, in this series of triple panels set one over another illustrated the early Buddhist Trinity of the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha. The topmost panel represented the Buddha symbolically by the stūpa, the second panel illustrated Dhamma by Cakra on a pillar, and, the third and the lowest panel depicted the Sangha symbolized by the Bodhi-Tree with a throne surrounded by worshippers. This combination of three symbols on one slab is a new innovation and an original plastic pattern devised by the sculptors of the Andhra Desa. As Fergusson has remarked, "This combination is repeated again and again in these sculptures, and may be almost designated as the shorter Buddhist catechism, or rather the confession of Faith, Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha."²⁶⁷

I. *Urdha-Paṭṭas* (Perpendicular slabs):

Let us study two typical examples of the early phases of the Second Period. They were undoubtedly the earliest sculptural decorations of the early part of the first century, and in their simple motifs with early types of decorations inherited from Śānchī and Bodhi-Gayā constitute the first attempts of the indigenous local sculptors of Amarāvati to illustrate these motifs.

(a) As will appear from a fragment, the lower part of which is broken away, that three panels constituting an *urddha-paṭṭa* was fringed at the top by a frieze of mythical animals (here rampant lions) and topped by a dado of the triratna symbols. Two of such fragments are illustrated by Burgess²⁶⁸ (Plate XXIII).

The most characteristic features of the stūpa depicted on these slabs are its multiple umbrellas arranged schematically as if supported by bending branches of a tree, the numerical exaggeration, symbolizing an universal monarchy offering a cover of refuge for all and sundry. The other peculiar features are the animated attitude of the two flying Devas or angels carrying vessels of offering, recalling the *karoti-pāṇayāḥ* Devatas of the *Divyāvadāna*.²⁶⁹ Three flying figures exhibiting great animation and movement from one of the characteristic features of all later panels and slabs.

For the multiple umbrellas over the stūpas we have some analogous representations of stūpas with umbrellas in some of the caves at Nāsik, (Fig. 7).

(b) In the second example, another fragment in which the top panel is missing²⁷⁰ (Plate XXIV) we have the central symbol, the cakra (*dhamma*) on a pillar, rising behind a throne, with a carved back and

267. Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 102.

268. Burgess, Pl. XLVII, 4, XLVIII, 2.

269. *Divyāvadāna*, XVII, p. 218-19.

270. Burgess, Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 1.

small *kalaśa*-pedestal, and twisted arms. These types of thrones, or seats, on which are placed two cushions, are new features not met with before. The flying Devas and the seated worshipping figures are knit together in a happy organized composition, with a skill and sense of proportion, never met with at Bhārhut and Śānchī. The lower panel representing the Sangha is similarly treated in an animated group of standing and flying figures. The figure on the left foreground with a pot-belly (*kalaśodar*) carrying some offering must be some specific Yakṣa-god, probably Vaiśravaṇa whose riches would provide appropriate endowment for the Sangha.

These panels of the Trinity were probably interspersed at intervals with other *urddha-paṭṭas* depicting the "Full vases" of which several examples have come to light.

II. *Panna-Ghata* (*pūrṇa-ghaṭa*) (Full vases)

Coomāraswāmy has very picturesquely and appropriately translated them as "Vases of Plenty," or "Brimming Vessels" and traced their symbolism to Vedic sources. As auspicious symbols indicating the abundance of life, these *pūrṇa-ghaṭas* (*pūrṇakalaśa*) are associated with Śrī Devi. When singly represented, they are to be regarded as an iconic symbol of the Goddess. The earliest examples of these with the lotus petals and flowers springing out of the vessels are represented at Bhārhut and Śānchī. In these early specimens at Amarāvati, we have very sober and tastefully grouped compositions. As non-sectarian auspicious symbols they occur on all shrines Hindu, Buddhist, or Jaina. In inauguration or abhiṣeka ceremonies of a stūpa, they were frequently used as an indispensable ritual emblem. Thus, in the legend of the planting of the Bodhi-tree by Ānanda with the co-operation of a local prince, described with full details of the ceremonies and rituals in the *Mahābodhivamsa*,²⁷¹ it is stated that the prince placed a string of auspicious vessels (*pūrṇa-kalaśa-māla*) filled with fragrant water, and decorated with blue lotuses after sprinkling the Great Bodhi Plant with the auspicious liquid" (*Rāja aṭṭasatamatte kanaka-rajata-kalaśa gaṅgholapure niluppalakalapadi-patimaṇḍite katva mahābodhiṃ parillhipitvā punnakalaśa-mālā thapapesi*). Similarly in the *Mahāvamsa*,²⁷² in connection with the ceremony of enshrining the relics in the stūpa we are informed "A thousand beautiful women from the city with the adornment of fair full vessels (*Supunṇa ghaṭa-bhūsayo*) surrounded the car containing the relics."²⁷³ "Men and women carrying one thousand and eight exquisitely resplendent '*punṇa-ghaṭas*' (replenished vases) encircled the state carriage". On the Mahācaitya at Dhānyakaṭaka, these replicas would be commemorative perhaps of similar auspicious vessels which may have actually figured in the festivals of enshrining the relics. The '*punṇa-ghaṭa*' and '*puppa-punṇa-ghaṭa*' (vase brimming with flowers) also figures in the consecration ceremony of Rawanveli Dagoba. (160 B.C.).²⁷⁴

NĀGA SLABS

Placed at the four cardinal points, and visible through the gates, were a series of snake-slabs of *nāga-paṭṭas*.²⁷⁵

271. *Mahābodhivamsa*, edited by S. A. Strong, London, 1891, 0.60.

272. *Mahāvamsa*, XXXI, verse 40.

273. Turnour, Vol. II, p. 119.

274. *Mahāvamsa*, Geiger, p. 172, 180 and 182.

275. cf. Goli Nāga Slabs, Rāmachandran, T. N., Pl. XII.

They are very appropriate decorations of a stūpa, for, according to the legends, the Nāgas were some of the earliest protectors of the Relics of the Buddha and set up the Eighth of the original stūpas, inside a pool in Rāmagāma (*nāga-loka*) where the Nāgas cherished the treasure with appropriate magnificence which challenged the admiration of Aśoka, when, after setting up the seven stūpas with relics extracted from the seven original stūpas, he went to borrow some relics from the custody of the Nāgas. The version of the *Divyāvadāna*,²⁷⁶ runs as follows: "In this way having extracted the relics successfully from the receptacles in the seven (original) stūpas and having established 'numerous stūpas from factions of these relics, the King went to Rāmagrāma. Thence the King was led by the Nāgas and made to descend into the Abode of the Nāgas and was told, 'We indeed worship this (relic) here.' After which the King verified and satisfied himself. Then the king after being again led back ascended from the Abode of the Nāgas and he said to himself as follows: 'The eighth stūpa is today located at Rāmagrāma. The Nāgas have ever since that time guarded it with devotion, I cannot get these relics from them'. In this train of thought the King grew reverent (towards the Nāgas), then he went away without extracting the relic(?)"

"RĀMGĀM STŪPA"²⁷⁷

On various pieces of upright slabs there are different representations of the Eighth Stūpa at Rāmagrāma (*Rāmgām*) guarded by snakes. Some of them are simple in form, with a snake at the lower centre of the drum,²⁷⁸ while some are very elaborately designed with numerous snakes artistically entwining themselves in fanciful wreaths round the drum as valiant protectors of the relic. A typical slab of this type²⁷⁹ (Plate XXV) is here reproduced (Fig. 8). Of the two seated female worshippers, one on the left deserves special notice. The attitude of this worshipper with uplifted arms joined in an attitude of devotion—with one leg folded up—has been the prototype of numerous later figures, which, incessantly, occur in the later reliefs.

WORSHIP OF THE BUDDHA-PĀDA²⁸⁰

In this elaborate presentation of womanly beauty—the subject-matter of the slab—the Śrī-pāda dwindles into insignificance. This magnificent composition, containing a group of animated women in dynamic poses, is the significant landmark in the beginning of the local style. On the pretext of depicting a group of devotees, the sculptor has depicted the charm of youthful womanhood—to contradict, as it were, Aśvaghōṣa's homily put into the mouth of the Buddha at the hour of His Departure: "Such is the real nature of woman in the world of the living, impure and loathsome; yet man, deceived by dress and ornaments, succumbs to passion for women" (64). "If man were to consider the natural form of women and such a transformation produced in her by sleep, most certainly his heedlessness in respect of her would not increase. Yet overcome by his impressions of her excellence, he succumbs to passion".

This relief of worshipping women is perhaps the artist's plastic retort to Aśvaghōṣa's challenge to Feminine Beauty. The poses of these figures seem to anticipate, if not echo, the words of the poet

276. *Divyāvadāna*, Ch. XXV, 110.

277. Burgess, Fig. 28 p. 93.

278. Fergusson, Pl. XCI, 1 and 2.

279. Burgess, Pl. XL, 2, marked 53.

280. Burgess, Drawing Pl. XLIX, Fig. 3 — Coomāraswāmy E.B.I., Pl. IV, Fig. 15.

Kṣemendra who has compared the bending form of worshipping women to 'the graceful curves of the plants bent by the might of the storm' (cf. Buddha's words: '*Mātu gāmo nāmo pāpo*' 'that' which is named women is sin.²⁸¹

There are some remnants of archaic *kāśas* (short legs of a throne, over which probably stood the Bodhi-Tree), the symbolic presentation of the Sangha. Since, there are no male figures, it might have been a pictorial symbol of a *Bhikṣuṇī-sangha*, emblematic of the admission of women into the Sangha. Coomāraswāmy has assigned the relief to about 150 A.D. But the archaic architectural setting suggests an earlier date. At any rate, the poses of the kneeling women easily recall similar figures with characteristic poses occurring on a relief on the Śāñchī gateway (Fig. 9).

THE IMAGES OF THE BUDDHA

By the middle of the first century A.D., the demand for images of the Buddha must have become quite popular. And it is reasonable to expect that the sculptors of Amarāvati should attempt to represent the Blessed One in worthy images, representing the Mahā-puruṣa, the Superman, with the full-fledged iconographic prescriptions of the thirty-two Major Signs and eighty-two Minor Signs.

(a) One of the earliest of these essays in depicting the Superman appear to be represented by two standing figures excavated at Amarāvati (Fig. 10). In their massive form and austere grandeur and restraint, they belong to the "primitives" of the Southern School. They have the newly felt passion and vitality and the convincing freshness of a recently realized religious devotion and are entirely devoid of any ostentation, or parade of skill. In their elevating stateliness and wonderful majesty they have a quality of remoteness which is truly wonderful. The distinctive pose of these standing figures consists of the graceful attitude of the left hand, grasping and holding one end of *saṅghāṭi* allowing the folds to fall into graceful and rhythmic ripples.

(b) This can be better studied in two mutilated images.²⁸² If we compare these images with those of the Mathurā School, we find that they are not mechanical repetitions of the Northern models, but are independent and original interpretations, and in their type, style, and treatment they can be easily distinguished from the types both of the Mathurā and the Gāndhāra Schools. In the accompanying drawings have been assembled, for the purpose of comparison, typical examples from the Mathurā and Gāndhāra Schools, which help us to differentiate the distinctive conventions and peculiarities which characterize the Southern from the Northern types. Figures (11) and (12) are analogous in poses and attitudes yet one is not a direct repetition of the formula and pattern of the other. The reconstructed Amarāvati images (Figs. 13 and 14) with its massive forms and concentrated pose is an improvement on the Mathurā type (Fig. 15). Excepting the heavy drapery, the early Amarāvati types have no similarity with the Gāndhāra figures either in the general character of the poses, or in the figuration of the folds of the drapery. It is impossible to claim that the Amarāvati types are derived from Gāndhāra. If they have any affinity with Northern types, it is with the models of the Mathurā School. The Amarāvati type developed a peculiar convention in the turn and upward sweep of the bend of the fold of the *saṅghāṭi*, the upper garment—near the right foot—as the line of the fold runs up to the left hand. Their nearest analogues, both in their

281. Quoted by Burgess, p. 82 footnote.

282. Burgess, Pl. XII, Fig. 1 and 2.

subjective interpretations and technical and iconographical peculiarities, have to be sought for in the early images of Ceylon.²⁸³

It should be noted that in the panel of the earlier phases on the stūpa which we have studied above, the image of the Buddha has not been introduced. It is probably that at Amarāvati the image was not carved before about 100 A.D.

Unfortunately, most of the full-fledged carved images of the Buddha have survived in mutilated condition, from which it is impossible to gather the subjective quality or the introspective quality of their faces.²⁸⁴

(c) But even some of the mutilated faces convey to us a gravity, a remoteness, a spiritual quality of introspection which is far above the snug complacency which characterize the 'happy faces' of the Mathurā School, and the banal objectivity of the Gāndhāra masters. This is well illustrated in the magnificent head in the Boston Museum; unfortunately, very much battered and damaged.

In a broken head of a Buddha image discovered near Bezwāda (now in the *Musée Guimet*, Paris, and here reproduced) M. Jouveau-Dubreuil had discovered so-called affinities with Roman Portraits (without any justification); on which he based his theory of 'The Roman Origin of Pallava Art'.²⁸⁵ Though somewhat elongated in form the Bezwāda head is related to and derives its lineage from the mutilated head in Boston, which appears by comparison to belong to an earlier epoch.

With the introduction of the images of the Blessed One, the representation of the Trinity had to be recast in a new design. On the panel on which Buddha was formerly represented by an iconic symbol of the Tree, or the Stūpa, a real image of the Exalted One was substituted. This innovation may be studied in typical examples.²⁸⁶

Of the group of the representation of the Master, there is an interesting octagonal pillar on the face of which standing figures of the Buddha are introduced in two series one about the other.²⁸⁷ This is probably a representation of the former as well as the last incarnations.

SEATED BUDDHAS

It would be convenient to notice here a series of late representations of the Seated Buddhas placed alternatively with stūpas.²⁸⁸ The earliest of this series, in very low relief, is a fragment.²⁸⁹ It is difficult to date them, as they appear to belong to different periods. They appear to have been used as friezes for plinth or coping-stones (*uṣṇiṣa*) as indicated in two of the inscriptions on some of them:

283: Coomaraswamy H.I.I., Fig. 293.

284: Museum of Fine Arts, No. 21, 1520.

285: *The Pallavas*, 1917, pp. 1-11.

286: Burgess, Pl. XLVI, 1 and 2.

287: *Ibid.*, Pl. XLII, Fig. 8.

288: *Ibid.*, Pl. XLIII.

289: *Ibid.*, Pl. XLIII Fig. 4.

Success ! Reverence to the Exalted One ! A plinth was set up by the merchant's wife Siddhi (the daughter) of Chanda residing at Vijayapura.²⁹⁰ On another frieze²⁹¹ in an inscription: *Siddham ! Hayaḍaya Kaṇḍadaya saṃghadaya . . . (i) mannisa pat(i) tṭavit (a) ti*—“Success ! This coping-stone was erected”

These series of images seem to offer some novel, if not original poses. Thus, if we compare the series in Fig. 3 (Burgess) with the Mathurā Bodhisattva figure,²⁹² we find that while in the Mathurā image the left hand is placed on the knee, in our frieze, it is left on the lap, with face upwards, the right being posed in the preaching attitude. Likewise, in the second series of seated images²⁹³ the left hand carries part of the garment coming over his left shoulder, an action, hardly, if ever, met within the images of the Northern School. It is evident that the Southern sculptors have not been following the prescriptions and iconographic patterns set forth in the texts of the canons of image-making (*lakṣaṇās*) slavishly, but in a manner of independent interpretation.

As compared to these Buddha figures, those on the Trinity slabs of the stūpa-casing²⁹⁴ must be somewhat earlier. (Plate XXVI).

THE GARLAND MOTIF

Before we leave the stūpa proper, it is necessary to consider a very significant ornament which has a very important bearing on a type of decorations commonly called the 'garland-bearers'. It is proposed to offer some new interpretation for the origin and evolution of this peculiar ornament, which, some European Scholars have complacently assumed, has been borrowed by the Indian sculptors from "Classical" models. We have already laid grounds for our theses in alluding to the occurrence of the 'garland' in the rhythmic waves on early replicas of stūpas at Bhārhut, Bhāja, and Śāñchī. We have suggested that the waving pendent forms of these garlands are due to their being hung from pegs going round the 'chest', as a sort of an 'upagrīva' ornament below the neck (*grīva*) of the stūpa. On images, we frequently meet with two distinctive types of necklace with different positions assigned to them: One is the 'Kaṇṭhahāra' (worn round the neck) and the other is the 'upa-grīva' (an ornament having its place near the neck) which is worn across the chest, above the breast. To the eye of the devout Buddhist worshipper, the stūpa would easily pass off as the aniconic image of the Buddha, which they would have to adorn with beautiful garlands such as 'upagrīva' necklaces. We have already cited the text which assures great merits to those wise devotees who place flowers on the stūpa. We have also cited texts which also recommended the placing of garlands. At any rate, by the second century B.C. (as proved by the evidence of the monument) the placing of garlands on stūpas was an established practice with the 'Worshippers of Mounds' (*caitya-vandakas*).

At Amarāvati, this tribute of a garland has become an indispensable decorative motif, placed in the space between the casing slab and the *harmmika* corresponding to the place where one would place a garland, or a necklace, on an image. On the stūpa at Amarāvati (if one can judge from the numerous replicas of the same on its casing slabs see (Plate XXVII), the garland gradually developed into an elaborate

290: *Ibid.*, p. 85, "Siddham Namō bhagavato Vijaya-(pu)ra-vaṭṭa-yaśa Chada (sa balikaya) vaniviniya Siddhiya (uni) sa pati-bhavitam".

291: *Ibid.*, Pl. XLIII, Fig. 9.

292: Bachhofer, Pl. 81, C.100.

293: Burgess, Pl. XLIII, Fig. 9.

294: *Ibid.*, Pl. XLVI, Fig. 1 and 2.

necklace. It may be remarked *en passim* that in the replicas of the Rāmagrāma Stūpa guarded by the Nāgas, this garland is replaced by the entwined knots of the tails of snakes. Following this precedent, in some of the replicas, the garland is sometimes arranged in bisected entwinements in the manner of a *channa-vīra*, the strings crossing each other.

From the evidence of the coping stone, it could be easily argued that at one stage, the garlands which have now become enormously thick and heavy (as compared with their slender predecessors on the Śāñchī replicas *vide* also the example from the Mathurā Museum), had to be fixed in pegs with great difficulty and care and the same had to be carried on the shoulders of devotees (*Yakṣas*, or *Gandharvas*) in order to have them affixed round the 'chest' of the stūpa. This is exactly what is represented graphically on the various coping-stones on the outer rails. The enormous size of the garland makes it impossible to be fixed up except with the help of many hands, and one is tempted to say that the function of the *mālā-dhara Devas* is to carry (dhṛ to hold, dhara) these enormous garlands (*mālā*) and set them in position round the 'chest' (of the stūpa). There would be nothing inappropriate in this suggestion, when we find that in the romantic descriptions, in words of utterly poetic exaggerations, some of the stūpas are said to be several miles (*yōjanas*) high, and who but the *Yakṣas* and *Guhyakas* could be said to be equal to the task of 'fixing up' (*āvaddha*) the garland in position. This suggestion gains some corroboration in some of the donative inscriptions which designate the coping-stones depicting these garlands as (*avaṣa-mālā* and sometimes as *āvada-mālā* (which may be the Prakṛt form of *āvṛta-mālā* or *āvaddha-mālā*) which may be paraphrased as "surrounding garlands" or "affixed garlands". The relevant epigraphs are cited hereunder.

On a fragment of a slab "which has borne one of the large flower vases" occurs the Inscription No. 20: "...bhaya (m) gena sabhaginakena. (a) bada-mālā karita satas (i) c(e)". "An *abadamālā* was caused to be made (by) ... with his sisters."²⁹⁶ No. 51: "...kasa bhayāya ca kanhaya sapitukaya. pu(ya)sa matimitababhavihi deyadhamma patithāpita sethikapata abata-mālā ca".²⁹⁷ "This slab with Svastika and (also) an *avata-mālā* are the pious gifts established by Cakradatta, wife of ...ka, together with her father... and their grandsons, friends and relatives."

The reasons for the identification of *avatamālā* of these epigraphs with garlands carried on the shoulder of *Yakṣas* lose some of its force owing to its application (as suggested in the first Epigraph No. 20) to a slab depicting a scroll of flowers on a vase. Practically this will not affect the argument as these waving garlands do indeed develop from their earliest formula of a blossoming stem emanating from a brimming vase, or from the mouth of a *makara*²⁹⁸—the earliest pattern of the water cosmology of flowers, trees, etc., and, in a general sense, of all representations of flowers arranged on rhythmic curves as *avata-mālā* (*avaddha-mālā*) a 'garland strung together,' or a garland of continuous form. As an alternative interpretation, it may be suggested that the word probably represented a garland which is a straight continuous wreath with ends not yet tied up (*abaddha*) into a circular form. On many of the Nāgārjunakonda slabs, the garlands are represented as being carried on the shoulders of *Yakṣas* and *Devas* in the course of being fixed up (*vaddha*) round the chest of the stūpa. This suggestion gains some authority by the confirmation of Buddhaghōṣa. In commenting on some *majjhima-sīla* passage in the *Brahma-jāla Sutta*, in his *Suman-gala Vīlāsini*, Buddhaghōṣa glosses on the word *mālā* (p. 88) in connection with the phrase *mālā-vilepanam*

295. *Dīvyāvadāna*, Ch. XVII, p. 218.

296. No. 20, Burgess, p. 102.

297. No. 51, *Ibid.*, Pl. LXI.

298. Bachhofer, Pl. 112.

(v.r. *mālā-gandha-vilepanam*), a somewhat cryptic phrase meaning the fixing or placing of garland, literally, inbedding (*vilepanam*) of the garland'. In this gloss, he distinguishes two kinds of garlands (*mālās*): *mālā ti baddhamālā vā āvaddha mālā vā*, "Garlands are of two kinds: knotted or tied wreath, and, unknotted or untied wreath."

Whether, or, not this is an appropriate or accurate designation of the motif of the 'garland-bearers,' the genealogy of their source and gradual development is clearly established on definitely marked chronological stages. Even if this technical name cannot be definitely ascribed to the motif, its undoubted derivation through a succession of evolutionary stages—from the earliest monumental records—preclude any suggestion of borrowing from "Classical" models.

It remains to notice that when the garland is replaced by a necklace on the stūpa it is punctuated by various circular and cubical medallions, with pearl-festoons and pendants (Plate XXVIII), some of which are repeated in the garland motifs on the coping-stones.

The independent derivation of the garland motif from native Indian precedents and intimate association with *Yakṣa*-goblins and *makaras* on the general background of an ancient and wide-spread water cosmology do not affect its accidental similarity with extra-Indian parallels.

It has been assumed by scholars (Foucher, Smith, and some scholars in the Indian Archaeological Department) with a predilection to derive most Indian motifs from "Classical" sources that the motif of *Amorini*, *Erotes*, or *Cupids* carrying garlands occurring on Roman monuments are earlier in date than those occurring on Indian monuments. Having regard to the utter uncertainty of the date of Kanishka and the rise of the Gāndhāra School it is impossible to assert that the Gāndhāra examples of the 'garland-bearing' motif (the '*mālādhara Devas*', to give it its appropriate designation) are earlier than its Indian prototype, or parallel. The history of this motif has not yet been investigated by classical scholars. And most of them are of opinion that the question about the earliest representation of *Amorini* with garlands on Greek and Roman monuments does not admit of any easy answer. Though single figures of *Erotes* carrying wreaths appear on monuments prior to the Christian Era, the motif of dwarf *Cupids* carrying on a heavy garland does not appear in Classical Art till the era of Hadrian (second century A.D.). So it cannot be claimed that it has been proved that the Indian motif of which the earliest surviving examples come from Mathurā and datable about 50 A.D., has been borrowed from Greek or Greco-Roman sources. If the offered interpretation of the technical term *avada-mālā* occurring in inscriptions datable in the early part of the first century A.D., is correct, the word and the motif designated must be much earlier in Indian Art than any of its Roman prototypes which may have offered precedents to the Gāndhāra masons of the second century A.D.

THE MITHUNAS

friezes contain in rectangular sections elaborate illustrations of the life of the Buddha and other legends from the Jātakas. Each panel devoted to a particular scene or incident is divided from its neighbour by an artistic device, namely, of two series of lotus rosettes of groups of three each, and on the space between these rosettes are introduced 'human couples' which must be identified as mithunas ('productive couples'). Coomāraswāmy has traced the lineage of their conception to Vedic sources.³⁰⁰ But they occur as auspicious symbols (like the *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*) on various early Buddhist monuments, and by 100 A.D., if not earlier, they must have been accepted by all Buddhist sculptors as an indispensable decorative motif of auspicious significance and suitable for use in Buddhist shrines. As we shall show, they were used on Buddhist monuments with a full realization and understanding of the motif as a mithuna.

MITHUNAS AT PĀTALĪPUTRA, ŚĀNCHĪ, BHĀRHUT, BODH-GAYĀ, KONDANEE, KĀRLI AND KANHERI

As pointed out by Coomāraswāmy³⁰¹ that the railing uprights discovered by Waddell near Patna³⁰² exhibit three pairs (mithunas) of persons, male and female, described by Waddell as "amorous couples under a tree." They belong to the period of Aśoka (220—200 B.C.) and offer the earliest examples of these auspicious symbols hitherto discovered. We cite, here, for the purpose of comparison, a drawing (Fig. 1 6) borrowed from Waddell.³⁰³

The motif has not been traced, so far, at Bhārhut, unless the couple on the central panel on the Prasajit pillar can be recognized as a 'mithuna'. Some couples on the pillars at Bodh-Gaya³⁰⁴ with hands disposed in embracing poses may perhaps be identified as 'mithunas' one of which Coomāraswāmy designates as mithuna, with a note of query. Various representations of pairs of archaic human figures on gates at Śānchī appear also to represent mithunas.

On the facade of the much damaged caitya cave at Kondane (later half of first century B.C.) on alternative niches between perforated panels are seven couples, which are undoubtedly mithunas. Of the well-known four sets of reliefs upon the back-wall of the Entrance Hall of the cave at Kārli (c. first century A.D.), two may possibly represent mithunas, while the two on the upper tier of the right wall, over the frieze of elephants, are unquestionably mithunas.

The four pairs of the couples, with embracing arms, on the back-wall of the Entrance Hall of the cave at Kanheri (Fig. 17) appear to suggest types of mithunas.

MITHUNAS AT KUDĀ

But the most important examples are the two mithunas at the corner of cave at Kudā (Rājpur Creek, Bombay Presidency) which are reproduced here in line drawings borrowed from Burgess and Indaji.³⁰⁵

300. *Satapatha Brahmana*, X, 5.2.8.

301. Coomāraswāmy, "Some Early Buddhist Reliefs Identified", J.A.R.S., 1928, p.395.

302. Waddell, "Report on the Excavations at Pataliputra, 1903, p. 35-36.

303. *Ibid.*, Pl. III.

304. Coomāraswāmy, I.S.D.B., Pl. XXXIV, 76, 77, and LV, 22., c.50 B.C.

305. Burgess and Indaji, "Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India," A.S.W. India, Bombay 1881.

In both these examples, the male figure raises his hand, while in one of them the female figure playfully poises a bunch of lotuses (*lilā-kamala*). There is a seated figure at the corner, who is either putting on her anklet or shampooing her leg. As we see the two examples are divergent in iconographic patterns, and the expected embracing posture is absent in both. There is nothing in the iconographic details against their identification as a pair of donative couple (*dānapati*). But over the heads of each of two of these pairs occur the following significant inscriptions.³⁰⁶ "The pious gift of a reproductive pair by Bhikṣu Bhadrasena. That Buddhist Bhikṣu demonstrates that in current Buddhist usages of the second century A.D., the mithuna was a harmless masonic or auspicious symbol, perhaps indispensable in a Buddhist shrine. As we know that in later Brahmanical uses the symbol has been used as a productive charm for Hindu shrines as in the Sun Temple at Konārak (Orissa). In this early Buddhist usage the same object may be implied.

As there is an inscription of King Vasisthiputra Pulumāvi in the same cave, the date of the inscription recording the gift of the mithunas should be about 150 A.D.

The symbolism of the mithuna, though freely used in Buddhist monuments from very early times, is by no means a characteristic Buddhist motif. Like so many other Buddhist motifs, this one belongs to pre-Buddhist and Vedic sources. Coomāraswāmy has traced the genesis of the idea in various stages through the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad and the Atharvaveda to the R̥gveda itself. "This person in the beginning was of such sort as are a man and woman closely embraced."³⁰⁷ "Thence came into being 'husband and wife'. He had recourse with her: thence were human beings engendered." The Atharvaveda³⁰⁸ also refers to this 'conjoint principles,' this progenitive duality (*mithunatvā*). In the R̥gveda³⁰⁹ this duality and unity of the Male and Female Principles are referred to: "When the conjoint pair was parted the Devas moaned and cried "Let them be wed again."³¹⁰

MITHUNAS AT AMARĀVATĪ

With the earlier precedents to go by (of which the iconography was by no means fixed), the artists of Andhra began to decorate the figures of the Dhānyakataka Stūpa (Amarāvati) with lively pairs of mithunas, which are remarkable for their freedom of conception and plastic movement. They are carved about the end of the second century almost within a few years of the Kudā examples, in developed forms and in original poses.

As we find from one of the earliest examples at Amarāvati,³¹¹ the female figure is placed on the right, reversing the order of the example at Kudā, at the same time the male figure with his face damaged is made to carry the lotus spray. Unfortunately, there are not very many mithunas which have survived at Amarāvati. One can only recognize two more: (a) one is the fragment of a frieze,³¹² and in two drawings.³¹³ As appears from the latter examples, the mithunas are more in a mood of devotion than of dalliance.

306. *Ibid.*, p. 38, Bhadasanasa Bhikhsu deya-dama Mithuna.

307. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 4, 1-4 "etavan asa yatha stripumamsan samperisuktan".

308. Atharvaveda, VIII, 9, 10.

309. R̥gveda, X, 121, 7, X, 24, 5.

310. cf., *Satapatha Brahmana*, X, 5.2, 11-15.

311. Bachhofer, Pl. 131 — Burgess, Pl. XL, Fig. 1.

312. Fergusson, Pl. LXXXII, Fig. 1.

313. *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXII (?) Fig. 1 and 2.

Sometimes these mithunas are made to perform useful jobs and are introduced between the 'arches' of the garlands, and made to help to set up these garlands, as we find, out of the three pairs introduced on the coping of a rail³¹⁴ one of them is adjusting the dangling string of one of the festoons. In some of the examples the couples forget their amatory sports, in which they are otherwise engrossed, and step forward to render offerings to the Buddha depicted on the contiguous panel. We reserve our further comments on the mithunas from the specimens from Nāgārjunakonda.

THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA

Of much more interest are the major panels carved in rectangular frames on the friezes over the casing slabs, panels which are punctuated and distinguished from each other by means of intervening mithunas.

They are of remarkable beauty, dramatically conceived, and skilfully composed in high reliefs which stand out in effective contrast against the decorative framing. Most of them depict scenes from the life of the Buddha in animated narratives and in their size, style, and technical treatment and, above all, in their function as edifying stone-pictures, expounding, before the eyes of pilgrims and devotees circumambulating the shrine, the romantic life of the Exalted One, anticipate the beauty and magnificence of analogous panels at Borobudur. Unfortunately, very few of these illustrative friezes have survived at Amarāvati.

1. (Plate XXIX)³¹⁵: The section on the left and on the centre perhaps represent the early life of the Buddha, the former, the Beauty Contest of Yaśōdhara, the central one represents the Jealousy of Devadatta. The division between the scenes is indicated by a pair of figures of women in trousers (Scythian?) offering drink. The next stop-gap is a Preaching Buddha.

2. (Plate XXX)³¹⁶: The scene is the conversion of Rāhula. The figure beyond the pillar on the left is probably the fragment of a mithuna.

3. (Plate XXXI)³¹⁷: As identified by Coomāraswāmy³¹⁸ it represents a festival of Sālavanjika at Śrāvastī.

4. The central scene³¹⁹ in this frieze probably is Buddha with Sujāta with her pail of milk and her maids. This scene is divided from the neighbouring scenes on both sides by pairs of mithunas. The other two scenes are difficult to identify.

(4a). (Plate XXXII)³²⁰ This panel contains two successive scenes, really one, of the Great Departure. The first one is the scene of the room in the palace with the sleeping women and the next is that of the Buddha riding out on his horse. On the extreme right is a mithuna.

314. Burgess, Pl. XX, Fig. 1.

315. *Ibid.*, Pl. XLII, Fig. 4 — I.O., Photograph 2204/839.

316. *Ibid.*, Pl. XLII, Fig. 5 — I.O., Photograph 2226/761.

317. *Ibid.*, Pl. XLII, Fig. 6 — I.O., Photograph 2204/839 (84-B, p 144 ff.).

318. Coomāraswāmy, *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. V, 1928-29, p. 244 ff.

319. Burgess, Pl. XLII, Fig. 9 — I.O., Photograph 2205/840.

320. *Ibid.*, Pl. XL, Fig. 1 — Bachhofer Pl. 131.

5. ³²¹This is a magnificent piece containing three scenes, the first, the Elevation of the Bow relic, the second, Dismissal of Kanthaka, the third cannot be identified. Of the dividing figures one is a mithuna in a happy pose, and the other a pair of foreigners dressed with quilted costumes and may be Scythians. In the Inscription No. XX (Fergusson, App. E), the slab is described as 'caitya-pata.'

6. ³²²The Quelling of the Elephant Nālagiri.

7. ³²³Nāga Kings.

8. ³²⁴The Night Scene in the Palace.

9. ³²⁵Elevation of the Relic.

10. ³²⁶Drawings :—Fig. (1) Śibi Jātaka; Fig. (2) Bath in the Nairāñjana.

11. ³²⁷Figure (2) Chaddanta Jātaka.

12. ³²⁸The extreme right section probably represents the Night scene before the Departure indicated by the sleeping damsels. The central section is Māra-dharṣaṇa and the right section represents the Worship of the Bodhi-Tree.

These friezes, forming the final decorations of the casing slabs can be easily distinguished by the lotus bosses and by a series of diminutive seated forms of *Garuḍas* (or perhaps lions) of which a typical example is reproduced here (Plate XXXIII). One of these friezes is designated as an uṣṇīsa (finial) of a slab (*urddha-paṭṭa*, *kancuka*) in an inscription on a fine example in the Madras Museum (Burgess, Frontispiece) "Hail ! (the gift) of the merchant Samuda, the son of the householder Harigha...of the chief city (*adhiṣṭhāna*), of the province of Campaka (*Cempuka*), for the welfare and happiness of ...and of ...and of the whole world; to the Great Caitya of the Lord (Buddha) (a slab) together with the finial (*sa-uṣṇīsa*)....."³²⁹

The inscription on the frieze in the British Museum not yet accurately edited is of some interest:—
"Bālikāhi sahina tithisa nita sanigama Khatana gena sahadama deva dhama Dhankakaṣa (? Dhana-kaṭaka) Mahā cetiya cetiya-paṭa be 2 bataka; datisa pupha gatiya paṭasa.....ca...hā ca nebatasa the...Rājagirivanam nata vadāre padithapiṭha sanasa dānam caitasa pathati."³³⁰

In the record, most of which is unintelligible, the subject of the gift is referred to as two caitya-patakas and three slab-pillars by certain persons from Rājagiri.

321. Fergusson, Pl. LXXXII, Fig. 1 (British Museum, London).

322. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXXII Fig. 2.

323. *Ibid.*, Fig. 3.

324. *Ibid.*, Fig. 4.

325. *Ibid.*, Fig. 5.

326. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXXIII Fig. 1 and 2.

327. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXXIV Fig. 2 and 3.

328. Burgess Frontispiece (under frieze).

329. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

330. Fergusson p. 262 App. E. No. XX.

THE RAIL, OR THE PALISADE (PRĀKĀRA) OF THE STŪPA

Some confusion has been created by the use of the term 'inner rail'. After the decorations on the stūpa were completed, and about the end of the second century, the palisade or rail was set up, with four openings for entrances through the gates at the cardinal points. What has been referred to as the sculptures of the inner rail are the carved panels (*urddha-paṭṭakas*) placed on the platform, the lowest part of the structure of the stūpa which rose from the ground-level. This will be clear from a drawing of a conjectural reconstruction of the stūpa, made by *M. Jouveau-Dubreuil*.³³¹

The gate consisted of an extension of the rail, as very probably there was no toraṇa (gateways) at Amarāvati such as found at Bhārhut and Śāñchī, though there are various replicas of gateways on the reliefs (Fig. 17).

In the absence of these toraṇas, on which at Śāñchī the edifying scenes are carved, at Amarāvati, the sculptors have used the spaces on the copings (*uṣṇīṣa*), and the horizontal bars (*sūci*) as well as the upright pillars of the rail through which the *sūcis* run, for depicting the life and the legends of the Buddha, with the result that there is very little space between the pillars. The space on the pillars is utilized in carving scenes on the medallions (tondos) which are referred to in the inscriptions as *cakra-paṭṭas*. This will appear from a conjectural restoration of the rail, attempted by Fergusson.³³² Having regard to the closely set horizontal bars (*sūcis*), leaving very little interstices, it is a misnomer to call it a railing. It is an enclosing wall, with narrow strips of spaces between the horizontal bars. The arrangement of the railing is very similar to that shown in the facade of the Gautamīputra Cave at Nāsik.

As appears from the illustrations cited here (Pl. XXXIV), the decorations of the outer face of the railing consisted of a continuous band or frieze of garland-bearers carried on the coping-stone. The decoration on the pillars consists of three lotus 'rosettes', a full one at the centre, and two three-quarter ones at the top and at the bottom. The design and style of the pillars which is really octagonal in shape is derived from perhaps earlier analogous pillars on the Verandah of Cave II at Nāsik. Fergusson has already drawn attention³³³ to "the similarity" that existed between the pillars of the Nāsik Cave and those at Amarāvati. "The central circle and the two half-circles at the top and bottom are like as the difference of material would allow; and the lotus buds used to fill up the angles in both examples are nearly identical. It seems to me impossible that the two can differ much in age; and if I am correct in assigning the beginning of the fourth century to the cave, we cannot be far wrong in assuming that the rail was erected within a few decades of it either way."³³⁴ On the basis of the inscriptions of Śrī Śātakarni Gautamīputra dated in the year 18 and 24 of his reign and of Śrī Pulumāvi Vasishthīputra dated in the year 19 and 22 of his reign, the date of the excavation of this cave at Nāsik has been assigned to the first quarter of the second century A.D. The Amarāvati railings, which, must have taken many years to build, were probably begun at about the second half of the century, and must have extended up to the first quarter of the third century.

As we have seen, on the outer face, the coping-stones have been decorated with a continuous series of garland-bearing Yakṣas, the symbolism of which is a visible picture of the process of decorating

331. *Bulletin De L' Association Francaise les Amis de L'Orient* No. 12, April 1932 p. 7, Fig. 1 and 2.

332. Fergusson, Pl. XLVIII and XLIX Fig. 1.

333. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

334. *Op. cit.*

the drum of the stūpa with an enormous garland, which used to be put round the 'chest' of the stūpa, before a permanent carved 'necklace' was affixed round the upper band of the drum, as we find illustrated in various replicas on the casing slabs.

As we have already noticed, in the space under the undulating waves, various edifying motifs, e.g., 'the worship of the stūpa' and other subjects have been introduced—which somewhat overcrowded the design.

Below the garland, and above the quarter-disc of the supporting pillar, a narrow band on which sometimes elephants worshipping the stūpa, and sometimes other animal motifs are introduced.

Then come the lotus discs (*Cakra-paṭṭas*) very elaborately carved with the petals disposed in various patterns and designs, ending on the outer circumference with a minutely carved band of rhythmic lotus stems, with leaves and flowers recalling analogous 'plant style' on earlier pillars, and between the discs, various representations and sacred stories are carved, affording the earliest prototypes for later developments of sculpture and of the iconography of later Brahmanical images of various types, as for instance, types for River-Spirits.³³⁵

NADĪ DEVATĀS

The most interesting are the representations of the Nadī-devatās on two pillars³³⁶ who are associated with the Nāgas having their abode in the waters. In Plate XXXV we have two very fine river goddesses standing on makaras and carrying a dish of food, and a water vessel, and represented in types closely parallel to the famous 'Śrī-Lakṣmī' (of the Mathurā School) now in the Bhārat Kalā Pariṣhad at Benares. It should be noticed that the style, continuity of types, and details of ornaments are maintained with the Northern Schools, while various original stylistic innovations are introduced, which treat known patterns and types with peculiar freedom and freshness. On the second pillar, at the same places, are introduced two pairs of Devatās who come, with their flower offerings, riding on the back of *makaras* to worship the stūpa. The water cosmology of flowers, water-deities, and aquatic animals are brought into intimate relationship, and, throw a flood of light on the significance of these elements as decorative motifs used separately and independently at various other places. It remains to point out that these female deities standing on makaras are the earliest prototypes and furnish the models for the Brahmanical images of Gangā and Yamunā which figure in all later temples from the Gupta period. At these places various other subjects are introduced, e.g., the Elevation of the Bowl-relic from the nether world of the Nagās.³³⁷

On the lower spaces of the discs are introduced playful goblins (*guhyakas*) the diminutive Yakṣas, who also inhabit the lower regions of the waters, their original home. These diminutive 'cherubs' offer prototypes of the later gaṇa figures at Badāmi (sixth century). The foliages with marked ribs and rhizomes on the borders of the discs are very characteristic decorations. The three-quarter disc at the bottom ends with a band of lotus stems, flowers and leaves, characteristically emanating from the mouth of makaras

335. *Epigraphia Indica* VIII.

336. Fergusson Pl. L.

337. *Ibid.*, Pl. LI.

with variations of other animal motifs. It should be recalled that some of the thick garlands on the coping-stone are also represented as emanating from the mouth of the makaras or ugly dwarfs which the 'cherubs', or baby Yakṣas, love to pull out playfully from their enormous jaws (see Plate XXXVI). These terminating bands of lotus motifs on the pillars at Amarāvati are designed with exquisite taste and carved with surprising delicacy and skill and they form one of the most characteristic ornaments of the Amarāvati School.

ANIMAL MOTIFS

The lower base of the railing near the ground-level is sculptured, invariably, with a decorative band with a frieze of animals, (bulls, elephants, etc.) to which it is not easy to assign any edifying or illustrative motif. The animal motifs occur at Amarāvati in three varieties of treatment. Firstly, they figure in a series of horizontal panels (most of them damaged) in which rows of animals are represented as led by their keepers who sometimes twist their tails, or pull them by their legs or by the ropes which they are held.³³⁸ These occur on panels of the early period, and represent not only domestic animals, such as the bull, but also mythical animals, with wings and fantastic types with bird's head, or human faces. This manner of introducing animals on horizontal panels and coping-stones is an old artistic tradition and occurs at Mathurā and other earlier Buddhist monuments,³³⁹ from which they are evidently derived at Amarāvati, offering another link with the Buddhist Art of the North. If we want to look for any specifically Buddhist ideas in these representations of animals, which the sculptors could possibly have in their minds when they introduced these motifs, one can only invoke the help of a passage in the Mahāvastu which appears to indicate the Buddhist attitude towards animal life as a stage in the series of evolution to higher types of life on the way to Nirvāṇa. This is picturesquely described in the visit of Maudgalayāna to the Animal Kingdom: "Next Mahāmaudgalayāna roamed about observing the painful conditions in which the lower animals had to pass their life and then reviewing their life of suffering gave an account of the miseries that they were subject to. Hay and wet grass were their food; water, cold and hot, their drink, they are harmful to one another; at every step they were in danger. At Jetavana he narrated all these sufferings of the lower animals and impressed upon the audience that knowledge of truth should be acquired and sinful acts should be avoided, so that man may not run the chance of being reborn as any of the lower animals."³⁴⁰ The edifying moral that man should avoid acts that might pull him to the level of animal life may have been the purpose of these reliefs with animal motifs.

The second manner of treatment appear to be purely decorative. On the upper tiers of some of the upright panels³⁴¹ rows of animals, sometimes of the same kind, and sometimes of different kinds, are introduced as an ornamental band over the panels illustrating the life of the Buddha. The most typical of these decorative bands uses rows of rampant lions depicted in lively movements. The third method of treatment of animal motifs is offered by a series of narrow horizontal bands introduced at the bottom of the lotus rosettes on the pillars of the rails, of which there are numerous examples in different compositions and designs.³⁴² In these series of decorative bands the animals, mostly rows of lions, are represented as

338. Burgess, P. XXIX, 2, XXX, 2 to 5, XXXI, 2 and 4.

339. Coomāraswāmy "La Sculpture de Bodh-Gaya", *Arts Asiatique* Vol. XVIII, Pl. XLIII 1-3 and pp. 51-54, Fig. 14 and 15.

340. B.C. Law, *A study of the Mahāvastu*, 1930 p. 5, Senart's text, Vol. I p. 27.

341. Burgess, Pl. XLVII 3 and 4, Fergusson Pl. XCVII and XCVIII.

342. Burgess, Pl. V, VI, VIII, XV, XVI, Fergusson, Pl. LXXVIII to LXX.

emanating from the mouth of two makaras placed at the two ends of the composition, suggesting, according to the Water Cosmology of the Vedas, that all life, including animals, was born out of the Primeval Water at the beginning of the Creation. "In the beginning this world was just water." "All this world is woven, warp and woof, on water".³⁴³ This cosmology is very happily used in devising clever designs in heraldic patterns in which sometimes Yakṣa goblins are introduced as playing with the animals as they emerge, along with the lotus stems and other vegetable forms from the jaws of the makaras, the Mythical Spirit of the Ocean. Typical examples are illustrated in the drawings given in figs. 18 a, t, g. Sometimes these animal forms intertwined with plant stems are represented as emanating from the mouth of little Yakṣas. A masterpiece of this motif is offered in a very complicated composition of great vitality and originality of design.³⁴⁴ Sometimes these animals emerge from the 'Full Vase' of the Water of Life (*amṛta-ghaṭa*, *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*) entwined with the rhythmic bands of lotus stem,³⁴⁵ these vases being carried by seated Yakṣa-Atlantes.

Of single figures of animals are various heraldic seated lions represented on the top of monumental pillars (*dharmma-stambhas*) obviously derived from the Aśōkan models. These occur repeatedly on replicas of the stūpa on various reliefs. Two independent figures of lions (one of them damaged) have come to light.³⁴⁶ They probably stood on pillars near the entrance of the stūpa, as shown on the replicas.

Of mythical animals some very animated representations of the makaras occur repeatedly of which a typical example is illustrated in figure.

INNER FACES OF THE RAILS

The inner sides of the rails are of considerable importance as facing the gaze of the circumambulating pilgrim on his right, corresponding to the carved panels with sacred scenes on the left. The artist has, therefore, lavished his best skill and judgement on these 'stone-pictures' illustrating the Buddhist legends designed to stimulate and develop the faith and devotion of the pilgrim, and every available space appears to have been taken up to fill in with sacred stories and romantic legends. Though the ribs of the octagonal faces of the pillars are nominally retained, the inclined faces disappear and the stories are carved on one uniform plane surface.

To begin from the top of the inner face of the rail, on the coping-stones running horizontally with a width or height of about 79 centimetres, the garland motif is replaced by a succession of large-sized panel pictures of moving and intricate designs, and loaded with significant details of iconographical, architectural and sociological interest, and many other minutiae which help to identify the subject-matter. These scenes, very elaborately visualized with numerous interesting details, fragments and tit bits of information relating to the social, domestic and courtly life of the time, provide detailed illustrations of utensils, furniture and dresses which are of greatest value in recovering the actual environments of life at that time. Very few of the coping-stones have been recovered, and those which have survived are mostly fragments. Many of them have been reproduced by Fergusson and Burgess, who commented upon them. Unfortunately, very

343. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 5, 5, 3, 6, 1.

344. Burgess, Pl. XI, 1.

345. *Ibid*, Pl. LIV, Fig. 1.

346. *Ibid*, Pl. XLV, 7; Fergusson, Pl. LXXXVIII, 4 and 5.

few of the scenes have been identified. The considerable advance in our knowledge of the related texts (both in Pāli and Sanskrit literature), since published and which were not available to Fergusson and Burgess, have helped Foucher, Vogel and Coomāraswāmy to identify many of them and we are indebted to the later scholars for stimulating our interest in the invaluable plastic records of early Buddhism.

Out of the various coping-stones published by Burgess,³⁴⁷ we propose to cite here the most interesting examples with short comments.

(a) 'Return to Kapilavastu' (?)³⁴⁸

The identification is conjectural. The central scene represents Buddha seated on the throne and preaching, his presence being indicated by the Footprints and pillow. The gateways suggest a scene in a city, probably Kapilavastu. Scene inside the palace appears to be suggested by two compartments on the left, one of which represents a seated princess surrounded by musicians. The right hand portion depicts the ramparts of a city with a glimpse into a house with a woman lying in bed with her child.

The coping-stone bears an inscription which informs us that the building operations were supervised by a venerable Thera named Buddhārakṣita residing at Rājagiri (Rājgir). "The gift of Dhamadina (Dharmadatta) and of Sagharakṣita (Samgharakṣita) . . . of the mendicant Buddhārakṣita, with her daughters . . . the pupil of the venerable Thera Buddhārakṣita residing at Rājagiri and superintendent of the building operations of the Cetikas (Caitikiyas)."³⁴⁹

"Rājagirinivāsakasa cetika navakāmakasa therasa bhayata—Budharakhitasa atevāsi . . . (varu) rikaya bhiku(ni)ṇa Budha rakhita(ya) sudhutuka . . . ya Dhamadinaya Sagha-rakhitasaca dānam."

(b) The Temptation.³⁵⁰

This has been identified by Coomāraswāmy as the "Scene of the Māra-dharṣaṇa".³⁵¹ It is the gift of a lay worshipper Kāma (kāma) daughter of householder named Krishna (according to the inscription cited by Burgess).³⁵²

(c) Unidentified panel.³⁵³

(d) Distribution of the Relics,³⁵⁴ Fragment of coping-stone.

(e) Worshipping groups, unidentified.³⁵⁵

(f) Buddha and Sujāta and Māra-dharṣaṇa.³⁵⁶

347. Burgess, Pl. XX to XXII and XXV nearly full-size; Pl. XXIII, Fig. 3 and 4, Pl. XXVI, Fig. 1 to 3 Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 1 to 5, Fragments.

348. *Ibid.*, Pl. XX, Fig. 2.

349. L.D.M.G., Bd. XL, 346.

350. Burgess, Pl. XXI.

351. *Rūpam* No. 38-39, p. 73.

352. Burgess, pl. LVI, No. 13, a and b.

353. *Ibid.*, Pl. XII, Fig. 2.

354. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXV, 2.

355. *Ibid.*, p. 59, Fig. 15.

356. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIII, 4.

(g) The Return to Kapilavastu.³⁵⁷

(h) The Funeral of the Buddha.³⁵⁸

(i) The Chaddanta Jātaka.³⁵⁹

(j) Unidentified Scene.³⁶⁰

(k) Departure of the Buddha.^{361 & 362}

(l) Unidentified panel.³⁶³

One of them is the gift of a householder Maditis' daughters Urvasika, Samgharakṣita, Sabhasaka, Sabhagirina.

(m) Three pieces, the large pieces depicting the birth of the Buddha.³⁶⁴

PILLARS ON THE INNER FACES OF THE RAILING

It will be found that the central disc of the lotus on the inner face of the pillars was replaced by tondos depicting various interesting scenes and anecdotes. Burgess cites eight examples of these pillars with carved tondos.³⁶⁵ We are reproducing here some of the outstanding pieces.

(a) Māndhātā anecdote.³⁶⁶

(b) Mora Jātaka, with a fine representation of a lake scene with lotuses.³⁶⁷

(c) Buddha as "Pillar of Fire."³⁶⁸

(d) Descent from the Heaven.³⁶⁹

(e) Worship of the Cakra flanked by mithuna figures.³⁷⁰

(f) Māndhātā using his Bow.³⁷¹

(g) Chaṅkramaṇa of Buddha.³⁷²

(h) Conversion of Rāhula.³⁷³

357. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVI, 3.

358. *Ibid.*, XXVII, 1.

359. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVII, 2.

360. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVII, 3.

361. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 1.

362. Fergusson, Pl. LXIV, Fig. 1 and 2 ?; LXV Fig. 1 to 3; XCII, Fig. 1.

363. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIV Fig. 1 and 2.

364. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXV.

365. Burgess, Pl. V, r; VI, r; VII, I; VIII, r; IX, r; X 2?; XI, X, 1 and 2; and XII, 1 to 4.

366. *Ibid.*, Pl. V, Fig. 2.

367. *Ibid.*, Pl. VIII, Fig. 2.

368. *Ibid.*, Pl. X, Fig. 2.

369. *Ibid.*, Pl. XI, Fig. 1.

370. *Ibid.*, Pl. XII, Fig. 1.

371. *Ibid.*, Pl. XII, Fig. 2.

372. Fergusson, Pl. LVIII, Fig. 2.

373. *Ibid.*, Pl. LIX, Fig. 2.

- (i) The Hair-cutting Scene and Night Scene.³⁷⁴
- (j) Court Scene and Division of Relics.³⁷⁵

DISC ON THE HORIZONTAL BARS OF THE RAILING

Inside the rails, on the horizontal bars (*sūci*) the lotus discs are replaced by tondos on which some very interesting scenes have been exquisitely carved. Some of these tondos undoubtedly represent the masterpieces of the school.

- (a) Worship of the Buddha (*Śrī-pāda*).³⁷⁶
- (b) Elevation of the Bowl-relic.³⁷⁷
- (c) Worship of the Buddha as "Pillar of Fire."³⁷⁸
- (d) Meeting with Yaśōdhara.³⁷⁹

It bears an inscription: "The meritorious gift of two cross-bars with circular panels of Makabudhi (Mṛgabuddhi) the son of the householder Buddhi his father, with his sister and with his wife."³⁸⁰

- (e) The Annual Festival of the Stūpa (Stūpa-Mahā).³⁸¹
- (f) Worship of the Relic at Rāmgām.³⁸² (Plate XXXVII).
- (g) Worship of the Relic at Rāmgām.³⁸³ (Plate XXXVIII).
- (h) Meeting with Yaśōdhara.³⁸⁴
- (i) Quelling of the Elephant Nālagiri.³⁸⁵

Various representations of this anecdote occur at Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakonda and Goli, but none of the other examples approach the intensity, the depth of feeling and the dramatic force evident in this remarkable masterpiece.

374. *Ibid.*, Pl. LX, Fig. 1 and 2.

375. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXI, Fig. 2.

376. Burgess, Pl. XIV, Fig. 1.

377. *Ibid.*, Pl. XVII, Fig. 1.

378. *Ibid.*, Pl. XVII, Fig. 4.

379. *Ibid.*, Pl. XVII, Fig. 2.

380. *Ibid.*, p. 48, and Pl. LVI, No. 11, "Gahapatisa Buddhim putasa Makabudhine sapitukasa sabhaganikesa sabhoriyasa deyadhamma paricaka be suchiya dana."

381. *Ibid.*, Pl. XVIII, 4.

382. Fergusson, Pl. LXII, top.

383. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXII, bottom.

384. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIII, 3.

VI. NĀGĀRJUNAKONḌA

The chapter of sculptural decorations probably closed at Amarāvati about 200 A.D. Some of the Buddha figures in the round probably date a little later. In any event, the chisels of the sculptors must have finished their work at this site by 225 A.D. But the school of sculpture which developed such refined powers of expression and vitality, and remarkable technical proficiency, could not die out immediately for lack of opportunity, or patronage.

This continuity of the Amarāvati School, the earliest phase of Andhra sculpture, during the next dynasty, that of the Ikṣhākus, came to be secured by the necessity of the decorations of a second Great Caitya (*Mahā-caitya*), overlooking the river Krishna, to which Nāgārjuna, the Great Buddhist patriarch is supposed to have lent his name—namely, Nāgārjunakonda, the hill of Nāgārjuna.

This hill, which is now known after the name of the great patriarch was originally known, as suggested in some of the inscriptions, as Siripavvata (*Śrī-parvata*) to be distinguished from the Brahmanical *Śrī-parvata*, or *Śrī-śailam*. According to a tradition preserved in Tibet, Nāgārjuna spent the last days of his life in a monastery called *Śrī-parvata* in Southern India. This seems to be referred to in the inscriptions as "the Vihāra of the Siri-parvata to the east of Vijayapuri." From the inscriptions on pillars in Brahmi characters of about the third century A.D., it appears that the Great Stupa enshrined corporal relics of the Buddha and was founded by a princess named Chamtisiri, paternal aunt of the reigning king of the Southern Ikṣhāku dynasty, claiming lineage from the famous Solar dynasty of Ayodhya, which was ruling in the Andhra area in the Krishna district during the second and third century A.D. "The date regularly found at the end of the inscriptions the sixth regnal of the King Māthariputta Siri Virapurisadatta, the sixth fortnight of the rainy season, the tenth day, marks no doubt the time when the great monument was consecrated." Among other royal ladies who participated in the dedication of the shrine, we come across the name of a princess from Ujjayini, named Rudradhara Bhaṭṭārika, bearing the title of Mahādevi, which suggests that she was the Queen of Siri Virapurisadatta, the reigning king. Having regard to the authenticity of the relics deposited at the stūpa, here, it is believed that the original structure, perhaps of smaller dimension, was probably erected about 200 B.C. (like the ones at Bhaṭṭiprolu and Jaggayapeta), and was evidently repaired, enlarged, and decorated with sculptured slabs in white limestone like those of Amarāvati, sometime in the early part of the third century.

The stūpas (one large and several smaller ones, were built of brick and the smaller ones were covered with sculptured casing slabs, of which about hundred examples have been recovered by the excavations conducted at the stūpa during three years (1926, 1927 and 1928-29).

In addition to these casing slabs, the excavations have yielded several "stone-beams" of the size of eleven feet by one foot in thickness, which appear to have been cornice-stones of the platforms. Several āyaka-pillars and one with carved image of the Buddha have come to light. The inscriptions are mostly

recorded on these āyaka-pillars. A limestone Buddha image over eight feet in height was found in one of the apsidal temples. Although there was a procession path, with circular railing in brick, no marble railings, like those at Amarāvati, have been discovered. It appears from the plan that access to the edifice was gained by four gateways facing the cardinal points.

The site yielded remains of a large stūpa (the main edifice), several small stūpas, four gates and six temples. The casing slabs with sculptured reliefs probably belonged to the smaller stūpas and altogether number about two hundred pieces a few of which have already found their way to European and American Museums.

As suggested above, the main stūpa, the Mahācaitya has not yielded any casing slabs (*silamaya-kāncuka*) but only a number of āyaka-pillars, which stood in a group of five on projecting platforms at the four cardinal points round the mound. The āyaka-pillars at Nāgārjunakonda offer a variation in a new element, viz., that the central ones carry a relic jar, or Pūrpa-kumbha. It is some of the smaller stūpas, which have yielded a large number of uprights (*urddha-paṭṭas*), which encased the lower part of the dome, together with a series of finials or cornice-beams, which were placed on these uprights.

The appearance of these stūpas, as they looked with the decorating encasing slabs, with edifying scenes from the life of the Buddha and the Jātakas, may perhaps be gathered from some of the replicas depicted on the upright reliefs (e.g. the Metropolitan Museum piece). Without claiming that these miniature 'pictures' of the stūpas depicted on these uprights give us accurate presentation of what the stūpas looked like, we find three of the replicas give us different views at three of the cardinal points, which correspond to the gates at Śāñchī. Thus we find, out of three replicas one shows a standing Buddha just below the five āyaka-stambhas (Plate XXXIX), the second one represented a seated Buddha and the third one King Māndhātā with his "jewels." It is quite possible that in the two replicas two different stūpas are represented, if we can draw any inference from the different shapes and sizes of the two, one being smaller in circumference than the other, giving it an elongated form.

It is reasonable to believe that by this time canonical rule might have grown up, prescribing the image or figure to be placed at each cardinal point. Other prescriptive rules and conventions for designs appear also to have grown up. Thus we find that the standing Buddha is as a rule flanked by two standing Yakṣas carrying lotus spray (at Śāñchī), which while the seated Buddha is flanked by Yakṣis as illustrated in a typical example.³⁸⁵ (Plate XL).

When the upright panels are not topped by a cornice-beam of sculptural panels, they terminate on the top with a frieze of animals and with a crowning series of *triratna* symbols. Excepting those depicting replicas of the stūpas, the uprights are generally divided into two panels one above the other as at Amarāvati.

The sculptured reliefs at this site occur on (a) the āyaka-pillars, (2) uprights or *urddha-paṭṭas*, (3) beam-cornice, (4) stray sculptures in the round.

³⁸⁵ Burgess, 405.

ĀYAKA - STAMBHAS (ENTRANCE PILLARS)

It is somewhat difficult to interpret what the word āyaka actually means. V. Apparao, in a very interesting note, traced the etymology of the word and suggested that "it means a pillar erected near the gate."³⁸⁶

As has been suggested by Longhurst,³⁸⁷ the group of five āyaka-pillars at the cardinal points were regarded by the Āndhra Buddhists as the most important and significant points of interest in a stūpa. The five great events in the life of Buddha—His Birth, His Going forth, His Enlightenment, His First Sermon and His Death—are depicted symbolically at the foot of the octagonal shaft of the āyaka-pillar. An āyaka-pillar from Amarāvati with the bas-relief of a stūpa has already been noticed.³⁸⁸ As has been noticed above, the āyaka-pillars, which are unifacial and meant to be seen from the front, have to be distinguished from the caitya-pillar (*caitya-khabo*) which are many-faced with symbols carved on each and meant to be seen from all sides in circumambulation,³⁸⁹ both of which are referred to in the donative inscriptions on them as *cetiya-khabo* (*caitya-stambha*). From some replicas of the stūpa at this site, as also at Goli, it is quite clear that these groups of five pillars were the earliest addenda or decoration to the stūpa before any other decoration were added. Apparao has suggested that they were five in number probably because they either symbolized the *Pañca Nikāyas* or the five signs indicative of Buddhism. A suggestion may be made about their function. Most probably they were posts for carrying lamps to light up the drum and the relic chamber of the stūpa, so that the decorations on the drum, and the relic chamber (*harmmika*) might be visible from a distance.

Of the āyaka-pillars recovered from Stūpa No. 6 at Nāgārjunakonda, there is one (B-389) with the effigy in relief of a seated Buddha, evidently symbolizing the First Sermon. Probably its companion pillars carried the 'pictures' of the other four Great Events. Longhurst has characterized the figure of the Buddha on this pillar as "crudely executed". As compared with the refined technique of the Amarāvati reliefs, those at this site are certainly on a downward slope.

CARVED PILLARS

Several elaborately carved pillars which may or may not have been "entrance pillars" have been recovered in fragments. They are octagonal at the upper part and four-faced in the lower part. The latter portion is decorated with three-quarter lotus-discs (*paricakra*) some of which contain a remarkably lively composition of groups of dancing men and women, standing on a platform decorated with *hamsas*, lotus, and *ganās*. On two pillars (No. 5 and 6), below the dancing figures occur two analogous standing figures of 'gate-women' (*dvāra-kanyaka*) very elaborately dressed and powerfully designed inside a niche of architectural frame hung with garlands.³⁹⁰ (Plate XLI). Both are very much damaged, but enough remains to convey the strength and beauty of the compositions.

³⁸⁶ "A note on the word *Āyaka Stambhas*", *Indian Culture*, III, p. 389.

³⁸⁷ *Archaeological Survey, An. Report*, 1929-30, p. 147.

³⁸⁸ I.O., Photograph No. 835; Burgess, Pl. XLIV, 2.

³⁸⁹ Burgess, Pl. XLV, Fig. 1 to 4; Fergusson, Pl. LXXXIX.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 374-375.

Another carved pillar with three reliefs commemorates King Chāntamūla and his *Aśvamedha* Sacrifice,³⁹¹ and is represented as performing some donative ceremonies in one of the four panels of this pillar.

VERTICAL CASING SLABS (URDDHA - PATṬAS)

The main stūpa was not ornamented with any casing slabs, the smaller stūpas (particularly Stūpas No. 6 and 9) have yielded quite a number of uprights, or vertical slabs. As at Amarāvati, many of them are cut up into two panels, each illustrating a different subject. These panels are bounded on the sides by false pilasters with lotus bosses, of the type very well known in the Nāsik Cave and at Amarāvati while the top and the bottom of these panels are framed by decorative bands, one of which is a very characteristic plant design, first met with at Nāgārjunakonda, and very frequently used here. It is a variation of the undulating 'lotus stem'; of the earlier monuments (Bhārhut, Śāñchi, and Amarāvati) but in the conventional form it develops, here, with sprays filling up the spaces it is difficult to derive it from the lotus. Anyway, it may be regarded as a new design contributed by the local artists.

The principal subjects delineated on these vertical slabs are representations of the stūpas and events from the life of the Buddha. As a variation from the Amarāvati slab-reliefs, the Buddha is invariably represented as in the Abhinīṣkramaṇa scene³⁹² by a human figure, instead of by a symbol as, frequently, at Amarāvati. Yet, in some of the scenes here, the Buddha is indicated by the symbol of the Footprints. The most typical example is the Nativity and the Seven Steps³⁹³ and the Presentation at the Yakṣa shrine.³⁹⁴

The subjects illustrated offer several novel themes not met with at Amarāvati, some of which have not yet been identified. Of the new subjects one related to the story of Prince Dighāvu. Of unidentified subjects several deal with the legends of Nāga Kings³⁹⁵ and a palace scene representing a prince reclining on a couch against a princess, seated nearby,³⁹⁶ which Longhurst identifies as illustration of the Māndhātū Jātaka, and the panels to represent the "denunciation of Brahmanism by a Rāja Cakravartin".

Though all the reliefs of the vertical slabs are of not equal artistic value, the Birth scene in the Lumbini garden and the Elevation of the Crest-relic (both here reproduced, B-565, and B-408) are typically fine compositions from this site. The latter, though hardly approaching its earlier prototype at Amarāvati, still carries some of its vitality and movement.

The Birth scene, representing Māyadevi in a remarkable pose (followed in many later representations) is a fine composition, made impressive by the row of *Catur-Mahārājas* spreading out the cloth to receive the Bambino. Curiously enough, the Four Regents are here placed on the right side of Māyadevi

391. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, p. 63-64.

392. Longhurst, *Memoirs* (54), Pl. XXVIII-C.

393. Burgess, p. 408.

394. Longhurst, *Memoirs* (54), Pl. XX-b and XXI-a.

395. *Ibid.*, Pl. XI-a and b.

396. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXIX.

instead of on her left, as in the Amarāvati example (Plate XLII). They wear Kuṣāṇa head-gears very much like those on Krishna figures and on Bodhisattvas of the Mathura School. This relation to and derivation from the Northern School is still maintained in this and various other iconographic details.

A fragment of (B-627) a lively group of adoring and dancing figures (one of them playing on a lute (vīṇa) and a dwarf gaṇa blowing a conch, is an ample testimony of the still surviving quality of expressive powers of the sculptors of this late school.³⁹⁷

THE PANELS ON THE BEAMS (UṢṆĪṢA)

Much more interesting composition, both as regards subject-matter and treatment, are furnished in a series of horizontal panels ('beams' or cornices) recovered from the ruins of the smaller stūpas, some distance away from the Mahācaitya.³⁹⁸ Those found from stūpa 9³⁹⁹ offer distinctive stylistic differences, both in types and architectural setting, from those found in the other stūpas. This class of panels is distinguished by a series of miniature Garuḍa brackets on which they are placed, as at Amarāvati. Each scene is differentiated from its neighbour by architectural devices. Those from stūpa 9 are partitioned off from each other by three lotus bosses as at Amarāvati. In the example from the other stūpas, this is done by a system of architectural framing with a series of pilasters with various incised designs capped by a *kudu*-window. Between each pair of adjoining panels comes a smaller panel containing mithuna figures in various novel poses and gestures.

The subject of the panels offer a variety of stories from the Jātakas (e.g., Sibi Jātaka, Māndhātū Jātaka) and the life of the Buddha (e.g., Descent of the Bodhisattva, Queen Māyā's Dream, Quelling of the Elephant). Two very interesting scenes are those illustrating the Conversion of Nanda (*Saundarānanda-kāvya*) and a seated Buddhist monk holding relics and flanked by Nāgas. The later scene may possibly represent the Brahmin Droṇa distributing the relics among rival claimants.⁴⁰⁰ (Plate XLIII).

Of these series of panels, the Conversion of Nanda is perhaps the most impressive and dramatically narrated story, effectively told in an original composition. It has been shown elsewhere⁴⁰¹ that the sculptors of the Andhra Desa must have used texts of legends of the Life, different from those used by Aśvaghōṣa in his *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarānanda-kāvya*. In some of the panels from Stūpa 9,⁴⁰² the types of the figures are coarse and thick-set, recalling those of the Mathura School, lacking in the attenuated grace of the slim figures of Amarāvati.

397. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXX-C, XXXI-a.

398. Longhurst, A.S.A.R., 1927-28, p. 121.

399. *Op. cit.* 1929-30, p. 144 H.Pl. XXXIX.

400. *An. Bib.*, 1930, Pl. III.

401. N.I.A., I, 9, p. 544 f.

402. A.R.A.S., 1929-30, Pl. XXXIX, a-f.

domestic utensils, clothes hanging on pegs, suggest situations of domestic love of married couples (*jāyā-pati*), as opposed to romantic indulgences of illicit amour. For, after all, mithuna as a 'reproductive' symbol derives its auspicious character from the desirable fertility or child-begetting consummation of married love. Technically, the character of love-making depicted in these mithunas belong to the category of *rati* (attachment) and *Śṅgāra* (dalliance) out of the seven stages enunciated in the *Rasaratnākara*, which defines *rati* as 'living in companionship' (*ratis tad saḥavartanam*), that is to say, in close proximity, *Śṅgāra* is defined in *Bhāgavatāṅkārā* as the secret dalliance of husband and wife.⁴⁰⁸ The many beautiful poses which the Nāgārjunakonḍa mithunas assume appear to be justified by the text of the *Daśarūpaka* which suggests that mutual affection of two young couples characteristically designated as delightful attachments of two souls is symbolised by their limbs,⁴⁰⁹ as we find in many "sweetly postured limbs" of these Andhra mithunas. Some of their dalliance assume very characteristic forms and types expected of a lover who holds her beloved in subjection (*svādhina-patika*), where the lover is always attached to his beloved (*anukūla-nāyaka*), engaged in 'various love sports'. Thus, in one example, the lover holds the mirror while the beloved puts on her tilaka mark on her forehead (Plate XLV). In another the lover puts on flower sprays to her coiffeure. Yet in another scene, the vessel for drink is held out. In another piquant situation the hands of the lover are tied up to prohibit indulgences of liberty, as we find the lover attempts, in another scene, to unfasten the string of the girdle (Plate XLVI) (*nīvi-vandha*). All these significantly illustrate the *svādhina-patika* type. The type is defined in various texts of which two may be cited here: "She is called 'the beloved holding her lover in subjection,' whose love, ever anxious to taste the pleasure of a variety of 'fancy' and sportive dalliance, does not leave the side of his beloved"⁴¹⁰ Rudraṭa, the famous rhetorician, gives an analogous enunciation: "She is a type of *svādhina-patika*, indulging in varieties of fancy sports, "whose lord, attracted by the attachment of her love, does not leave her side."⁴¹¹

The lively and sportive poses of the mithunas in these monuments may have been inspired by the proverbial 'love exploits' of the Andhra damsels whose reputation in this respect has been recorded in the relative literature. Without insisting on the authenticity of such 'literary' fame, two out of various texts may be cited here, at random. "The Andhra damsels are the only skilful adepts in the essays of love"⁴¹² "The fawn-eyed damsels of the Andhra Desa have very delicate limbs, and are fond of enjoyment with a liking for voluptuous pleasures".⁴¹³

At any rate, there is nothing impure or objectionable in these 'amatory scenes', which are depicted with a rare plastic grace and with all the skill, originality, and passionate love of forms on the part of a talented group of Andhra sculptors. They afford the only opportunity to independent scope of artistic expression, as in the other sacred themes and composition, the artist's originality was tied up by pious canonical and iconographic prescriptions and hoary precedents from which they had no freedom to depart.

408. *Bhagavata-lankara*, V, 5; "Jāyā-patyormitho-ratyam vṛttitḥ śṅgāraucyte".

409. *Daśarūpaka*, IV, 48; "Pramodātmā ratih saiva yūnor anyonya-raktayoḥ: prahṛṣyamāṇā Śṅgāro madhurāṅga viceṣṣitaiḥ".

410. *Sarasvatī-kanthābharaṇa*, V, 119: "Svādhina-patika sā tu yasyaḥ pāśvam na muḥcati: Priyas citra-ratḥ-kridā-sukha svādāna-lolupah".

411. cf. *Kavyāṅkārā*, XII, p. 154, "Yasya ratiguṇākṛstaḥ patih pāśvam na muḥcati: Vicitra-vibhramāsaktā sā svādhina-patir yathā, Śṅgāra-tilaka, I, 133.

412. I.O.Ms. 2118, Verse 16, "Āndhrī prema-nivandhanaika-nipuṇā Ratirahasya."

413. *Kandarpacūḍamani*, II, 5, 22: "rati-nīratā ati-mṛdvyo' śucirucayaḥ śiṣṭa-ninditācārah: Āndhrodibhavaḥ mṛgākṣyo...."

Incidentally it may be pointed out that the compositions of the mithunas undoubtedly provided plastic precedents in a series of Royal Couples, 'Kings and Queens', on the Pallava temples at Seven Pagodas, some of which have been identified as 'Mahendravarman and his Queen'.⁴¹⁴ These affinities link up the early Buddhist School of Sculpture on the banks of the Krishna to the later developments of Southern Indian sculpture under the patronage of the Pallava Princes.

TORANA-SĀLA-BHĀJIKĀS (PILLAR-FIGURES GATHERING SĀLA BLOSSOMS)

The ancient festival of the Sāla-Tree in flowers (*Sāla-bhājika*) when damsels assembled in the bowers and in the forests to 'break' the bunches and gather Sāla blossoms, provided models for a type of decorative dolls which has since been known under the technical name of the Sāla-bhājikās, later frequently used as ornamental addenda, or brackets to architectural schemes. In Āśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita*,⁴¹⁵ the women peeping out of the windows are compared to Sāla-bhājikā statues on the pillars of arches (*torana-sāla-bhājikeva*). Four examples of these decorative dolls figure on four fat pillars used as architectural settings, one on each side, for two horizontal slabs, from Stūpa No. 3 (?) cited by Longhurst.⁴¹⁶ These figures posed against the background of trees closely follow the type of Tree nymphs (*Vṛkṣakās*) of Śāñchi and also recall the Yakṣis of Bhārhut in their attitudes and gestures. At the same time, they display some novel and original treatment and devices. Their beauty and original designs may be studied in the enlarged drawings cited here (Figs. 19 to 22). A Sāla-bhājika Festival is actually represented on a lintel from Amarāvati,⁴¹⁷ and is referred to in the 53rd story of the *Avadānaśataka*.⁴¹⁸

HUMOROUS SCENES

Of minor figures of interest and beauty a reference may be made to a humorous panel of a dwarfish gāṇa, pulling the ear of a ram.⁴¹⁹ A group of hunters carrying bows, riding on the outstretched back of a monkey, is treated with considerable skill and humour on a small compartment of a long horizontal slab. As a rule the dwarf Yakṣas receive treatment in fantastic humour. In the legend of the Gift of the Earth (*Dīvyaśatā*) the playing urchins are treated with similar playful humour.

THE PORTRAIT OF A FOREIGNER

Two bearded figures (B-369, 370), dressed in a long sleeved tunic and trousers, and a skull cap with boss, and carrying a lance (B-370) carved on a broken pillar (Nos. 2), has raised some controversy. He looks like a soldier. Vogel has suggested that the figure represents a "Scythian warrior."⁴²⁰ There is nothing improbable in this suggestion. The dress, of thick material, and emphasized by thick folds rendered in double lines giving the appearance of quilted tunic, recalls the dress of King Kaniṣka⁴²¹ and of Vima

414. *Rāpan*, No. 27-28, 1926.

415. *Buddhacarita*, V, 52.

416. Longhurst, *Memoirs*, Pl. XXIII-b.

417. Burgess, Pl. XLII, 6.

418. *Avadānaśataka*, Speyer's edition, 1902, pp. 302 f.

419. A.R.A.S., 1930-34, Pl. XXXIX-B.

420. *Art. Bib.*, I.A., 1927, p. 13. Pl. VI-b.

421. Bachhofer, Pl. 76.

Kadphisses⁴²² in the Mathura Museum. Somewhat similarly dressed figures, with long-sleeved tunics and trousers, occur in a scene in a panel from Nāgārjunakonḍa (B-333) (fig. 23). Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil⁴²³ has suggested a simple identification of the basis of a comparison of a similar figure with a conical head-dress and dressed in a tunic going up to the knees⁴²⁴ viz., that it is Chandaka, the groom of Buddha's horse Kanthaka. A running figure of Chandaka occurring in a Renunciation panel at Nāgārjunakonḍa⁴²⁵ has no beard and carries no spear, though he wears a quilted tunic above the knees.

In the absence of any related figures to suggest an Abhinīṣkramaṇa scene, there is no definite data to identify the figure as a groom, and the iconography does not require a bearded figure. On a richly carved horizontal from Amarāvati⁴²⁶ next to the *Chandaka-nivartana* scene at a place generally given to mithunas, occurs a pair of similarly dressed couple, the woman also wearing trousers, while the male figure carries a staff, and standing under a cocoanut tree (Fig. 24). Here the proximity of the Return of Chandaka may suggest that the figures dressed in un-Indian tunics may represent Yavana servants. There is very little doubt that the bearded figure represents a foreign type. It is a well-known fact that foreigners, both male and female (Yavanas, Yavanis), were frequently employed by the Pāndyan Kings as domestics (door-keepers and watchmen). It is quite possible that Yavana or Scythian domestics, grooms, bodyguards, door-keepers, were employed by the Ikshvakus.

A semi-human figure, with a drinking horn, on the same pillar recalls analogous Bacchanalian types met with in Gāndhāra sculpture, on which Vogel deduces the possibility of an active sea-borne trade carried on between the Roman Empire and Southern India.

DECORATIVE MOTIFS

On the top of the upright slabs from Nāgārjunakonḍa have been found a series of decorative friezes depicting in these successive bands (1) garland-bearers, (2) rows of 'filled-jars', (3) rows of triratna symbols and (4) rows of rampant lions.

The "garland-bearers" do not offer any new developments though they continue the stylistic conventions and details of analogous motifs at Amarāvati. The Yakṣa figures, with Kusāṇa head-dress, carrying the garlands offer magnificent studies of figures in animated poses and movements. At Nāgārjunakonḍa the more original types of the garland-bearers is represented by one or two horizontal "beams" in which the central knob is replaced by circular niches on which seated Buddhas are introduced. On some of the decorative friezes between the rows of 'filled-jars' and 'Svastikas', rows of stūpas are introduced as an additional decorative motif.

422. *Ibid*, Pl. 77.

423. "Le Guerrier Scythe de Nāgārjunakonḍa", *Bulletin de L' Association Francaise des Amis de L' Orient*, October, 1932, pp. 22 to 26.

424. Bachhofer, Pl. 128.

425. A.S.A.R., 1928-29, Pl. L-d.

426. In British Museum, Ferguson, Pl. LXXXII, 1.

MINOR RELIEFS

Of minor fragments of sculptured reliefs, mention may be made of a few Footprints, elaborately carved (B-539). One of these Footprint slabs bears at the bottom a relief of deer with Cakra, indicating the Sermon at the Deer Park (Sārnāth) flanked by two beautifully posed devotees with joint palms.

FIGURES OF THE BUDDHA

Both the seated and standing images of the Buddha figure in various reliefs are at Nāgārjunakonda.⁴²⁷ But they do not offer any new feature or stylistic development and are repetitions of well-defined patterns formulated at Amarāvati.

On an upright slab (B-406) a replica of a stūpa is represented in relief. On the lower part of this relief, facing the entrance, stands the Bodhisattva, under a parasol, the right hand holding a bunch of lotus (*līlā-kamalā*) and the left hand attached to the waist (*kati-alamvita*). The Buddha as Prince Gotama yet to attain Buddha-hood, though represented at Amarāvati in various scenes from the Life, is not represented as an icon in a conventional standing pose, as in this example. Yet this type is no new innovation of the local artists but derives its lineage from an earlier type for this figure met with in the Mathura School and is continued in a later example, as we shall see, at Goli. The type is ultimately derived from lotus-bearing Yakṣas occurring on the gates at Śāñchī, and also at Nāsik. Yet in another type, the Bodhisattva is figured in another upright slab (B-362) not as an icon as on the relief just cited, but as one of the *dramatis personae* in the story of the Return of Chandaka where the Prince takes off his jewelleries and makes over to the groom. In an example (Relief No. 9) this scene is summarily represented with the groom leaning down in the right, and the beggar who offered his tattered clothes on the left. Here, the Prince wears not the Kusāṇa jewelled crown, but a peaked hair-knot, held by rows of pearls and tilted in the fashion of a dandy, recalling analogous coiffure on some Bodhisattva figures of the Gāndhāra School. Incidentally, the scene depicted on this relief misses the intensity and grandeur of the same theme represented on the British Museum beam cited above.

YAKṢAS AND DEVAS

On various upright casing slabs the replica of a stūpa is represented with all decorations attached, garlands, āyaka-pillars, single monumental pillars with emblems, seated lions and the architectural setting of a railing, with a gateway indicated by portions of the rails projecting in front, with terminating pillars carrying seated lions. A typical relief is cited here from Nāgārjunakonda (Plate XL) which should be compared with the finest example of this class of relief from Amarāvati in the Madras Museum (Plate XLVIII), which is the finest and the most elaborately decorated relief of this type and which has undoubtedly furnished the model copied by later sculptors at Nāgārjunakonda, Goli and Rāmireddipalli.

On this class of reliefs the upper corners over the drum of the stūpa are filled up by animated groups of flying and dancing Yakṣas, Devas, Nāgas and dwarf-goblins which become set formulae imitated by later sculptors. In their simpler form, this type of adoring Devas are figured as flying Angels, 'carrying in their hands vessels (*karoti-pāṇi*) of offerings, typically illustrated in the fragments in the Boston Museum (No. 21-1307, 21-1505). In later compositions, the single figures are replaced by groups of worshippers.

427. B-105 B-389, A. S. A. R., 1927-29, Pl. LI-b, New York Museum Acc. No. 28, 31.

Amongst these groups of adoring angels, sometimes, three types can be distinguished who are designated by three different names in the Mahāvastu:⁴²⁸ (a) Yakṣas carrying in their hands cups (*karoti-pāṇayo nāma Yakṣaḥ*); (b) Yakṣas carrying garlands (*mālā dhara nāma Yakṣaḥ*); (c) Yakṣas who are ever (dancing) in ecstasy (*sadā matta nāma Yakṣaḥ*, lit. 'Yakṣas always in a state of intoxication'). In some of the dancing adoring angels, in lively poses of twisted limbs, in difficult attitudes of dancing, which figure in some of these groups on either side of the drum of the stūpa represented in the reliefs of the upright slabs, one may perhaps recognize this type of *sadā matta Yakṣas*. They are groups of Devas and Yakṣas flying down from celestial regions to pay their tribute to the stūpa after it has been installed and decorated. Some join their hands in adoration, some carry vessels of offering (*karoti-pāṇi*), some carry garlands, some, parasols, while the goblins, beat the drums and blow conches. Their canonical and iconographic sources may perhaps be traced in the description of installation and consecration of the stūpa and the attendant ceremonies and events given in the *Mahāvamśa*⁴²⁹ which no doubt is based on earlier sources. The shrine described in the *Mahāvamśa*, was decorated with the representations of 'thirty-two Devas, thirty-two Princes (?) (*Kumāriyo*), twenty-eight chiefs of Yakṣas'; above these again Devas bowing down with clasped hands (*anjali-paggaha Devas*) raised over their heads: still higher (other bearing) vases of flowers; dancing Devas and chanting Devas: Devas holding up mirrors, as well as those carrying bouquets of flowers: Devas carrying flowers and other Devas under various forms: Devas bearing rows of bows made of jewels: and among them (representations of) the 'Dhamma-cakko': rows of Devas carrying swords, as also rows bearing refection dishes (*pātidhara*). "Chanting Devas" is a loose translation of '*turiya-vādaka-Devatā*' which should be rendered by 'angels beating the drums' as we see in the Amarāvati relief. Anyhow this motif offers to the carvers of this class of reliefs opportunity to weave (within a cramped space) groups of three to seven of these figures, in diverse poses and attitudes, into extremely complicated and admirably skilful compositions. At Nāgārjunakonda these adoring Yakṣa and Deva figures in each section in animated groups, from three to seven figures in each section. On the lower parts of these slabs at Amarāvati (*vide* Boston relief and Bezwada relief, B-2) on the portions representing the enclosing wall, on either side of the entrance beyond the pillars, figures of Yakṣas and goblins are introduced, the latter carrying trays of flowers, apparently, for the use of the pilgrims who will visit the shrine with the usual floral offerings, which the urchins playfully hold out over their heads. This formula is repeated on the reliefs at Nāgārjunakonda with considerable variations. These groups on either side of the entrance are represented as flower-sellers, as still found in Buddhist temples near the entrance. In some examples (B-405), on this section finely posed Yakṣinis are introduced carrying sprays of lotus.

On another class of upright slabs, sometimes beautifully posed Yakṣa figures are introduced carrying in their hands water-jars (B-605).

At Nāgārjunakonda the free fluent style of Amarāvati is fully maintained particularly in devising and treating the human figures in difficult complicated and foreshortened poses, and in all varieties of attitudes and postures, though the delicacy and finesse, and the consummate artistry and technique of Amarāvati reliefs are distinctly missing. The reliefs are also somewhat superficial and less deeply cut than at Amarāvati, and at times, perfunctory and crude. "Nāgārjunakonda represents a phase of Amarāvati Art which is, perhaps, less perfect and refined, but still full of life and inspiration".⁴³⁰

428. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 30.

429. *Mahāvamśa*, Ch. XXX, pp. 89-93.

430. Vogel *Buddhist Art*, 1936, p. 47.

A group of interesting sculptured panels (a few uprights and several horizontal panels) has been recovered from the remains of a stūpa near the village of Goli, in the Palnad taluk in the Guntur district. With the exception of two, which have been retained near the site, by village-worshippers, all the slabs and panels have been removed to the Madras Museum, and have been studied by T. N. Rāmachandran in an excellent little monograph well illustrated.

It can be judged from a replica of the stūpa in a casing slab⁴³¹ the mound which was decorated by these sculptured panels was a comparatively simple and less ornate structure. It had, of course, the group of five āyaka-pillars at the cardinal points, the *harmmika*, and the casings round its base. There is no indication that it had horizontal friezes which generally top the upright slabs and provide a sort of cornice or finials to the uprights. As a matter of fact, three horizontal panels have been discovered, which had their place on the heads of the upright slabs. The stories carved on these horizontal friezes offer some very interesting well-known themes, and in their technical detail provide significant points of comparison with related carvings from Amarāvati.

Frieze No. 3, depicting the Temptation of the Buddha, and the Buddha fed by Sujāta⁴³² is stylistically different from the other friezes which are superficially carved low reliefs almost appearing like plaques, and could not have come from the same atelier. The third one is more nearly related to the Amarāvati reliefs, both in stylistic convention and in architectural details. The most significant elements are the row of Garuda brackets below the friezes and the rows of three lotus rosettes used as 'partitions' between the places assigned to different stories.

These are wanting in the other friezes, where the partitions are indicated by a different device, viz., rectangular pilasters with kuṇḍa capitals. The friezes are supported not by miniature Garuda brackets, but by simple square beams, very much in the manner indicated in the architecture of the Western Caves. The peculiarities seem to suggest a date for these two friezes somewhat earlier than the fourth Period at Amarāvati. On the other hand, the pilaster partitions on the friezes at Nāgārjunakonda, where the pilasters in a more developed form are ornamented with various incised decorations. This appears to suggest for the Goli relief a date earlier than those at Nāgārjunakonda, carved under the patronage of Ikṣhvakus. As has been justly pointed out by Rāmachandran⁴³³ "that the stūpa at Goli cannot be a work of the Ikṣhvakus." Unfortunately, there are not many epigraphic records to help us here. The only epigraph, a tantalizing fragment on a "stūpa" slab,⁴³⁴ as ingeniously interpreted by Rāmachandran, has only yielded the possible name of a donor, "the female lay follower Malata" (Upāsika Malataya). On the

basis of a comparison of the letters of this inscription with those at Jaggayapeta and Amarāvati, Rāmachandran has assigned the Goli carvings to the third century A.D., which cannot be very far wrong.

Stylistically, the reliefs at Goli offer very elaborate and spatial dramatic effect. Thus in the scene of Buddha's visit to Yaśōdhara,⁴³⁵ spread over a long 'canvas' Yaśōdhara, being posed at one extreme end, to which Rāhula runs to announce to her that his father has arrived, as we see him posed at the other end of the picture - the intervening space is filled in with numerous figures, attendants and children running about with some excitement. This commotion is emphasized by contrast of the sedate indifference of the seated figure of a lady (perhaps Prajāpati Gotami, in a justified attitude of injury and resentment for Yaśōdhara having been forsaken by the Buddha) (Plate XLIX).

Even the hackneyed theme of Sujāta feeding the Buddha which is treated similarly at Amarāvati and other places is here rendered⁴³⁶ in an elaborate manner with a group of eight figures, most of whom are the attendants of Sujāta, who help their mistress at this significant service at a critical moment of Buddha's spiritual quest, some pouring out water for ablution, some fanning him, while others wait with the pails and utensils one of which is an elaborate spoon—a tumbler with a long arm.

The scenes of the Chaddanta Jātaka, and the subjugation of Nālagiri, are perhaps less happy though the latter depicts a scene of excitement with some realistic effect (Plates L & LI).

THE MITHUNAS

There are three examples of reproductive couples on the horizontal friezes at Goli, which are not mechanical repetitions of a set formula and a symbol, but, in two cases at least, receive significant dramatic treatment. The first one, somewhat restrained in grouping, is a conversation piece, a rendering of a protestation of love by the lover to her beloved (Plate LII). The second one, with details of water-jar, and clothes hanging from a peg, as signs of happy domesticity, is a scene of offering of a cup of drink (?) by the man to the woman (Plate LIII). The third one is a toilet scene, where the man puts on the vermilion spot on the face of the lady who critically examines the effect in a mirror held in her hand. It almost recalls the story of Sundari and Nanda, as given by Āśvaghōṣa. Two of the male figures are dressed in long dhotis with elaborate folds like those in the Buddha figures.

MINOR FIGURES

Two other minor figures call for a comment: one, a Nāga-attendant, and another, a Yakṣi playing on the lute: both standing on makaras one of which twists the tails into a coil to provide a foot-rest. It is not easy to explain the figure as a single Nāga, standing in an attitude of repose, with a hand supported by the neighbouring tree. Perhaps the missing portion furnished a clue to the meaning. The single woman figure (Fig. 25),⁴³⁷ playing on the vīṇa is a veritable Yakṣini, a Tree-nymph or sāla-bhañjikā, of the Bhārhut and Śāñchi type, lacking the slim grace of the Amarāvati types. A Yakṣi 'playing on a vīṇa (vīṇa-vāḍini)

431. Rāmachandran, *Bulletin*, Pl. X.

432. *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, VIII.

433. *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

434. *Ibid.*, Pl. X.

435. *Ibid.* Pl. XII.

436. *Ibid.* Pl. VIII.

437. *Ibid.* Pl. VI.

is rather rare and the only analogous figure that one can cite is the Yakṣi figure carrying a vīpa at Bhārhut, identified by Barua as a Lotus-nymph (*paduma-acchara*), where the Yakṣi stands on a lotus, and not on a makara as in the Goli example.

The figure suggests that the sculptors at Goli were maintaining contact with the artistic traditions and conventions of Northern India (Bhārhut, Sāñchi), a suggestion which receives corroboration from another piece of evidence.

THE FIGURES OF THE BUDDHA AND BODHISATVA

The Goli carvings offer some very interesting examples of the representation of Buddha. The most important is the standing figure in the scene of the visit to Yaśōdhara cited above. It is copied from its prototype at Amarāvati.⁴³⁸ In the Goli figure, the folds of the drapery are somewhat deeply incised, but in the nimbus, a new element is introduced - that of radiating lines. This appears to be an individual innovation, as this is not repeated in any other figures, as for instance, in the Buddha figure, in the Nālagiri scene. In these illustrations from the life of the Buddha, the figure of the Buddha is given in lively and dramatic poses, and not in the set formula of an image or an icon. Of seated images, there are two examples one in the Māra-dharṣaṇa scene, and another is an excellent example in the preaching pose, on an upright slab.⁴³⁹ It undoubtedly follows the patterns of the seated form, as formulated at Amarāvati, but it is a more elaborately and carefully carved figure than any met with at Amarāvati. A distinctive convention of the drapery is the doubled up fold of the portion on the left shoulder, which exposes the upper left arm. This convention never met with in the images of the Northern School. In a Māra-dharṣaṇa relief on a frieze on the upper part of the well-known casing slab from Amarāvati⁴⁴⁰ both the shoulders and upper arms are covered by drapery. It is well known from the text of the *suttanipāṭa* that when a person is addressing an important personage he has to adjust the drapery so as to lay bare the right shoulder, as in the preaching images of the Buddha. The passages from the text are cited here: "Then rising from his seat, with his right shoulder respectfully bared, and with his folded palms extended towards the Lord, the Reverend Vāṇisa addressed him in the following verses".⁴⁴¹ "With deep emotion thrilled, the Brahmin youth, his shoulder bared to the homage of the Lord, bowed his head before the Master's feet" (*Suttanipāṭa*, Vatthu Gāthā 1027). Evidences of this custom also occur in various passages of the *Divyadarśana*.

In the treatment of the drapery the sculptors of the Southern School have devised a scheme of their own which does not follow the mannerisms of the Mathura, or the Gandhāra School, and cannot be said to have been 'influenced' by either.

An intimate contact with the School of Mathura is undoubtedly suggested by a remarkable standing image of the Bodhisattva, flanked by two dwarfish Yakṣas, one carrying the umbrella, another, the fly-whisk. The figure so closely follows the Mathura type in drapery, pose, jewellery and head-gear, that one would hesitate to ascribe it to the chisel of a Southern sculptor. A panel from Amarāvati has betrayed the hand

of a Mathura Sculptor, and one is inclined to attribute this piece from Goli to an artist from Mathura. It is quite possible that the embellishments of numerous stūpas on and near the banks of Krishna had called for a large number of sculptors and the news of the demand may have induced some sculptors from Mathura to come and seek work in these Southern centres of Buddhism. Large schemes of religious edifices have always helped migration of artists from one centre to another. Not that the local craftsmen were not equal to the task, but that extensive and expensive artistic undertaking at a given centre very often attract artists from other centres to seek work and patronage at distant places.

The Bodhisattva as such is rarely depicted at the Southern sites and it is quite possible that some Southern artists may have carved the figures, following the model of Mathura types. The Cudamāṇi head-dress, the lotus held aloft in the right hand, the kaṭihasta pose of the left hand held akimbo against the waist are typical peculiarities of the Mathura School. Being unable at the moment to cite an exact prototype from any of the Mathura sites, we are citing here the nearest analogue, a figure from a series of donative couples from a doorjamb in the Mathura Museum.⁴⁴² It is not a Bodhisattva but of the same unmistakable type, with the *uttariya* (the upper garment) running round the left shoulder and not tied up round the waist as in the Goli Bodhisattva.

The type of the Bodhisattva accompanied by a Yakṣa holding a parasol over His head is an important iconographical literary source. According to the *Suttanipāṭa*:⁴⁴³ "A white parasol was held over, the head of the Bodhisattva." This simple white parasol later on developed into elaborate ones decorated with golden and silver threads hung with jewels and pearls as we find in the *Apadāna*.⁴⁴⁴ According to the *Nalaka Sutta*,⁴⁴⁵ the angels who held aloft the parasol in the sky (*antalikkhe*) and plied the fly-whisk were invisible to mortal eyes (*Na dissare camara-chatta-guhaka*); as we find in many representations of the Nativity (e.g., at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa) the parasol is represented as hanging in the sky (*antalikkhe*) without any person holding it aloft. In the worshippers' image, as in the one under discussions, as also on various slabs at Amarāvati - the holder of the parasol, usually a Yakṣa, is represented. A few independent stone parasols with donative inscriptions have been found from Amarāvati.⁴⁴⁶ The gift of parasols by pious donors was undoubtedly stimulated by canonical texts promising merits to the donor of parasols. Thus in a passage in the *Apadāna*, it is asserted by a Thera, that by holding aloft a parasol in the sky sins die out.⁴⁴⁷

It remains to refer to a fine carving of a Nāga, with its scaled body entwined in artistically disposed loops (fig. 26). There are one or two prototypes of this composition at Amarāvati, where two examples offer two varieties of the loop.⁴⁴⁸ The Nāga in this coiled pose of deep attention is a watch, carefully guarding the relics of the Buddha enshrined in the Dagoba. Similar Nāga slabs have been met with at Anūrādhapura (Abhayagiri Dagoba) in Ceylon⁴⁴⁹ and prove the intimate relationship of the Amarāvati School with Ceylon.

442. Vogel, Pl. II, 6.

443. *Sutta-nipāṭa*, *Nalaka-sutta*, sutta 11, 688-689; "Setanea chattam dharivanti mudḍham."

444. *Apadāna*, Lilley's edition, I, 1925 pp. 3, 31; "Suvanna jalabhi-sanyuttan rajata-jala-manihi ca muttajala-parikkhittam chattan dharentu matthake."

445. *Sutta-nipāṭa*, *Nalaka-sutta*, 688.

446. Burgess, Pl. XIV, 6.

447. *Apadāna*, *vatatapa-nivariya* p. 207, 2; "Nivutan hoti me papan kusalass' upasampada: akase chattan dharenti pubba-kammass' idan phulan..."

448. Fergusson, Pl. XCV, Fig 1 and 2; Burgess, p. 93, Fig. 28.

449. Bachhofer, Pl. 132.

438. Burgess, Pl. XLII, Fig. 5.

439. Rāmachandran, Pl. IX, No. 5.

440. In Madras Museum, Burgess Pl. I.

441. *Sutta-nipāṭa*, *Vengisa Sutta*, II, 12.

VIII RĀMAREDDIPALLI

After a career spreading over four centuries the magnificent School of Amarāvati closes its pages. In the reliefs recovered from Buddhist sites at Rāmareddipalli (Gummadiduturu) a hillock six miles from Madhira in the Nandigāma Taluk in the Krishna District. It is only six miles to the east of the famous stūpa at Jaggayyapeta and, therefore, belongs to the same cycle of Buddhist culture which began about the second century B.C., and continued its building activity at least up to the end of the third century A.D.

Here, remains of three stūpas have been excavated but only the central or the main stūpa has yielded carved reliefs on grey marble as at the other related site in the same district. Probably, there were casing slabs in the body of the stūpa, but none appears to have survived except some, standing against the retaining wall of the stūpa, at the base. These casing slabs consisted of uprights carved with the replicas of the stupa they decorated, and interspersed with narrower reliefs or stelae. If these replicas are correct portraits of the original, it ought to have had a railing with carved reliefs, but as no remains of any railing have come to light, the suggestion must be an artistic exaggeration. Anyhow most of the thirty-four upright slabs are damaged or broken at the upper portion, and it is only one piece (No. 15-B.241) which though broken across is comparatively in tact, with its horizontal panel at the top. It reproduces, in all the glory of its details, the Madras Museum piece from Amarāvati, with its relic-chamber hung with festoons. The shoulder of its drum is crowded with dancing Devas and ganas coming to worship the stūpa, with its neck decorated with an elaborate garland, and its waist covered with carved reliefs from well-known legends at the centre of which stand the row of five āyaka-pillars. A little below the āyaka-pillars is the image of the Bodhisattva seated in *rājaltāsana*, with his head ties up with the *cūḍāmaṇi* ornament, with two worshipping figures below his throne and with two worshipping Yakṣas, with offering of flowers.

Of the horizontal friezes, one illustrates the story of the Buddha and Yaśōdhara, somewhat summarily treated. Beyond the limits of the main story, on either side, in separate compartments are two pairs of mithunas. On three other damaged upright slabs, at the recess at the centre occur images of the standing Buddha, Buddha in meditation, and Buddha preaching, and Buddha protected by Nāga Mucalinda.

On the narrow stelae of which a few fragments survive, the Buddha is represented in several slabs, as at Amarāvati, by an empty throne with cushions, surmounted by a 'Pillar of Fire' and a long central pillar, flanked by riders on lions. A very curious peculiarity is noticed in the convention of representing the story of the Subjugation of Nālagiri (of which there are several examples in replicas of panels, Photo No. B-246, B-255, B-258) in which the Buddha is represented not by a human figure but by a 'Pillar of Fire' with *pādukas*. In several representations of the scene at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakonda, Buddha is represented not by a symbol but by a figure.

HORIZONTAL BEAMS

Of the horizontal beams, one has already been noticed above; there are two more. One of them (B-243) represents the visit to the Buddha of a King with his entourage of horses, elephants and retainers.

It cannot be Prasenajit's visit as the King after he descends from his elephant is represented as taking off his crown and jewels. On the intervening compartments are the usual mithunas.

The other beam is cut up into two panels divided by a mithuna on one of which is the Buddha preaching, and, on the other, a scene in a royal apartment with playing musicians seated on the floor.

On the replicas of panels depicted on the upright slabs, there are several illustrations of new stories not represented on the reliefs at Amarāvati and the other sites.

FIGURES OF THE BUDDHA AND OTHER IMAGES

On several of the slabs are several miniature representations of the standing Buddha (Photo No. 232, 236) with some novel poses, as for instance, the left hand, which is usually held aloft carrying the end of the garment, is placed below the breast, showing a deviation from the canonical prescription. There are several seated images (B-229, 235, 242, 245, 247) some with the gesture of preaching, others in the pose of *yogāsana*, with the hands joined on the lap (245) (fig. 27 & 29). There is a curious seated image (flanked by two worshipping figures) which seems to represent some personage other than the Buddha (255), as the figure is made to wear jewels.

There are two larger representations of the preaching Buddha in two upright slabs (Photo No. 254, 260) in one of which both the shoulders are covered by drapery.

A very late image (Photo No. B-237, Plate LIV & Fig 30) bears a donative inscription in Sanskrit, which has been ascribed to the eighth century A.D. It records the consecration of the image of the Lord by a Śramaṇa, named Rāhula, a disciple of Ācārya Dharmmadeva, a favourite disciple of Ācārya Śakaṭāyana (Mauggalaya?).

(1) *Svasti Ācārya Mougalyāyanasya priya-śiṣyasya Ācārya (2) (Dharmma-devasya śiṣyena Sramaneka Rahulena Bhagavath. (3) Pratimā pratiṣṭāpitā sarvva satvānāmanuttarāyi. (4) Avāpaṭaye yadatra Puṇyam sarvvaṃ caitya-saṅghasya.*⁴⁵⁰

The image is of some iconographic interest as on the parasol there is a seated figure of the Buddha (?) protected by Mucalinda with a lamp nearby, which must have some symbolic significance.

The estimated date of the inscription on the pedestal in front of the effigy of the *dānapati*, as also other records, suggest that Buddhist culture has been persisting in the Krishna District well into the Pallava epoch. The Buddhist figures from Śālihūṇḍam with affinity with the Pāla School, of course, carry the history of Buddhism in the South to the twelfth century.

On the basis of the estimated date of the Brāhmi epigraphs found at Rāmareddipalli, the reliefs from this site have been dated about the second century A.D.⁴⁵¹ But the stylistic considerations with many iconographic deviations appear to suggest a date in the early part of the fourth century A.D.

450. J.A.H.R.A.S., July 1928, Part I, p. 63.

451. A.R.A.S., 1926-27, p. 153, 189.

IX. MINOR SCULPTURAL REMAINS FROM VARIOUS SITES

ALLURE (c. 175—200 A.D.)

This site, about five miles from Yerrupālem (on the Bezwada-Hyderabad Railway) in the Nandigāṁ Taluk in the Kristna District, has yielded remains of a stūpa which was once decorated with casing slabs. An inscription from this site recording a gift to a sect of the Buddhist monks called Puvva-śeliya (*Pūrva śailiyas*), written in a script resembling those of the records of Yajña Śrī Śātakarni II, has been assigned to about the second century A.D.⁴⁵²

The site has yielded a few sculptured fragments and a damaged figure of the Buddha:

- (a) A fragment of the right half of an upright casing slab containing figures in relief of a standing Yakṣa, a goblin and a seated devotee.⁴⁵³
- (b) A fragment of a decorative scroll with a series of figures inside circular bands separated by smaller rosettes.⁴⁵⁴
- (c) A standing image of the Buddha with right arm and left hand and feet missing, now in the Bezwada Museum⁴⁵⁵ (Plate LV).

BUDDHA-PĀDA (400—500 A.D.)

The advent of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty (c. 275-450 A.D.) which revived Brahmanic culture in the Andhra Desa appears to have stemmed the tide of Buddhism which had an uninterrupted course from the third century B.C. to about the end of the fourth century A.D. and of which the successive developments are clearly recorded in the sculptured monuments of Jaggayyapeta, Amarāvati, Alluru, Ghantasāla, Nāgārjunakonda, Rāmareddipalli and Goli. The school of Amarāvati, and the style of sculpture that it represents, appears to have died of exhaustion with the monuments of Goli. The demand for decorating stūpas with marble reliefs appears to have abated about the beginning of the fourth century. We have, therefore, no records of sculptural activity in stone during the later part of the fourth century. Buddhism and Buddhist worship however did not die out altogether as is evidenced by a series of bronze images of the Buddha (now in the British Museum, London,) recovered by Sewell during excavations from a canal at Buddhavani in the Kristna District (Plates LVI & LVII). According to Vincent Smith, these series of images belong either to the fifth or the sixth century A.D.⁴⁵⁶ The group of these images consists of the following items:

452. *Madras Govt. Epigraphists' Report*, 1924, p. 3.

453. A.S., Photo No. B-215.

454. *Op. cit.* No. B-219.

455. H.F.A.I., 1911, p. 180.

456. H.F.A.I., 1911, p. 180.

- (a) Two heads of images of the Buddha; (b) Upper part of a seated (?) image of the Buddha;
- (c) Three standing images of the Buddha (figs. a,b,c).

The style of two of these images is closely related to the Gupta Buddhas, with folds of drapery entirely eliminated; while the third one (fig. 31) bears on the draper faint lines indicating folds.

An unique fragment of bronze figure coming from some unknown site from the Andhra country, though Saivite rather than Buddhistic in its iconography, appears to carry the traditions of Andhra Sculpture to about the middle of the sixth century. It is an isolated specimen and cannot be related to any definite cultural area.⁴⁵⁷

RĀMATĪRTHAM

On the hills of Durga-konda and Gurubhakta-konda in the village Rāmatīrtham (8 miles from Vizianagaram) in the District of Visakhapatnam extensive ruins of a Buddhist monastery used perhaps by a sect called 'the Hill Community' (saila sangha) and perhaps patronized by a king of the name of Siva(maka) Vijaya-rāja (as recorded in a fragmentary inscription on some clay seals) have been discovered.

The only piece of sculpture that this site has yielded is a standing figure of the Buddha of which the head and right arm are missing.⁴⁵⁸

ŚĀLIHUNḌAM (c. 800—900 A.D.)

In order to complete a general survey of Buddhistic Sculpture in the Andhra country reference may be made to the late Mahāyānist sculpture recovered from the remains of a Buddhist monastery and brick stūpas (perhaps of the eighth century) at Śālihunḍam, a village on the south bank of the river Vamsadhāra, in the Srikakulam District. Various Mahāyānist images of about the ninth or tenth century A.D. have been discovered representing *Marīci*, *Bodhisattva*, *Tāra*, and *Avalokitesvara*. They are unrelated to the Amarāvati School and, as suggested by Longhurst, "the sculptures came from the North".⁴⁵⁹

457. Bronze figure of Śiva (?), South Kensington Museum, London, No. I.M. 300-1914.

458. A.R.A.S., 1910-11, Pl. XLIII, Fig. 1.

459. A.R.A.S., 1919-20, pp. 34 to 38.

X ARCHITECTURAL DATA

In the numerous story-telling reliefs on the sculptural decorations of the Andhra stūpas we get very interesting glimpses into cities, palaces, forts, their buildings, gateways, ramparts, towers, pavilions, pillars, walls, temples, shrines, stūpas, chaityas and various forms of structures and numerous architectural details, evidently borrowed from contemporary building practices. In addition to representations of cities, and their buildings and palaces, various architectural details are introduced as settings or decorative frameworks of the series of panels in order to distinguish them into different sections. And, lastly, we have actual architectural designs in the structures of the surrounding railings (prākāras) and embellishments of the stūpas in the pillars, architraves, cornice-stones or beams, and the medallions or tondos (*pari-cakras*) on the pillars and cross beams of the railings. These details offer valuable information and data bearing on the history and development of Indian Architecture during four centuries from at least the second century B.C. to the second century A.D. The architectural details available on the reliefs at Bhārhut, Śāñchi and Mathura, admirably studied by Coomāraswāmy,⁴⁶⁰ indeed, provide correct and important data and materials for the study of contemporary architecture; similar details and data have been provided on the reliefs from Andhra, which considerably add to our knowledge of architectural history and attest the continuity of the history and the development of architecture, in a manner not available in actual remains. Old Pāli literature indeed bristles with information, descriptions and names of varieties of architectural works and different members of parts of palaces, buildings, structures, temples, shrines, monasteries and rest houses, but it is the minute information available on the Andhra reliefs that help us to visualize them and their actual appearances, their plans, designs, decorations and construction details. In this sense, the details provided in the Andhra reliefs offer a fairly complete dictionary of contemporary Indian Architecture, and add considerably to our knowledge on the subject. The topic demands a separate monograph, and can only be treated here in a summary manner.

BHATTIPROLU, JAGGAYAPETA, AMARĀVATĪ

The fragment of casing slabs from Bhattiprolu, Jaggayapeta and Amarāvati of the archaic period (c. 200—50 B.C.) offer five complete examples and various fragments or representations of pillars⁴⁶¹ of which at least five are so-called caryatid-pillars containing carved reliefs of Yakṣas or Yakṣis on the shafts of the columns standing on water-elephants. The capitals of the pillars consist of upturned lotuses of Asokan type, and are mounted on the top by addorsed winged animals (bulls, horses and elephants) recalling similar motifs on pillars in Western Cave Architecture. The bases of the pillars are in the form of jars (kalaśas), decorated with lotus-petal motifs. As will appear from the related diagrams and the comparative figures (Figs. 32 to 34) the capitals are related to analogous ones from Bhārhut, and the Yakṣi figures are stylistically much earlier than similar figures of the Mathura School.⁴⁶² The general details and patterns of the pillars (sometimes octagonal in shape with lotus medallions) are much more archaic than the pillars of Cave Architecture, and certainly ante-date them by a century.

460. Coomāraswāmy, *Early Indian Architecture, Eastern Art*, Vol. I, pp. 209-235.

461. Burgess, Pl. XLIX, LI, LII, LIV, LV.

462. Konkalitla, Bachhofer, Vol. II. Pl. 73.

Two other fragments of the same period⁴⁶³ illustrate (Plate LVIII) two kuḍu-windows (*vātāpana*, bay-windows) of the so-called horse-shoe shape, one revealing the bust of a woman peeping through the opening, and another, a fine sāla-bhañjika of the Tree-nymph (Vṛkṣaka) type (related to analogous types of Śāñchi) which Coomāraswāmy assigns to 200 A.D., but which must be much earlier in date. The *gavākṣa*-niche enshrining the figure based on two dwarf kalaśas (Plate LIX) appears to be an early ancestor from which later forms are derived.

One of the fragments from Jaggayapeta⁴⁶⁴ (Plate LX) gives a replica in low relief of an almost complete Buddhist relic Shrine in three stories, with bay-windows (*vātāpanas*), with a barrel roof of the *gaja-prṣṭha* type, mounted with four kalaśas (spires).

We have in these replicas very interesting and authentic records of religious architecture current about the second or third century B.C.

AMARĀVATĪ

We have, of course, numerous replicas in relief of stūpas of different periods, in archaic and simple forms, and later forms with decorative embellishments and casing slabs of various motifs, of which typical examples are cited here. An interesting replica of a stūpa, with a devotee approaching the stūpa and entering through a gateway (*tōraṇa*) in front, is illustrated, here, from a well-known relief from Amarāvati.⁴⁶⁵ This seems to suggest that one or other of the stūpas of Andhra must have had a gate of wood, if not of stone, and the forms of this gate (of which numerous examples occur in the Amarāvati reliefs) offer interesting variations and developments of the Śāñchi *tōraṇas*, and they must therefore belong to a period after 50 B.C. *Jouveau-Dubreuil* has suggested a conjectural restoration of the main stūpa at Amarāvati,⁴⁶⁶ which visualizes the architectural splendour of the design of its builder, which is reproduced in a drawing (Fig. 35).

To about the same date appears to belong a very interesting relief in replica of a pillared temple of the circular type (*vesara* ?), surrounded by a railing and covered by a dome ending in a spire, with three projecting windows on the dome, and two on the entablature. The replica occurs on a lower fragment of a pillar.⁴⁶⁷ It is a very peculiar type which has not survived in actual remains, and is, therefore, a valuable document of the Indian Architecture of the early period. Of a three-storied palace (*tri-bhūmika prāsāda*) with towers, an interesting glimpse is afforded in another fragment from Amarāvati.⁴⁶⁸ The towers are exquisitely proportioned, and the terminating tower lends an imposing grace to the whole structure, the lower part of which is missing.

The coping-stone of a rail⁴⁶⁹ offers very elaborate presentation of the outskirts of a City, with gate-house, surrounded by a brick-wall, above which many storied buildings and towers raise their heads.

463. Burgess, Pl. XI, IV, 5, XLIX, 7.

464. *Ibid.*, Pl. I, V, 2.

465. *Ibid.*, Pl. XII, 6, Top.

466. "L'Architecture d'Amarāvati" *Bulletin L'Association Française Des Amis de L'Orient* April, 1932.

467. Burgess, Pl. XI, V, 3.

468. *Ibid.*, Pl. XII, 7.

469. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXI, 2.

On the same relief is a beautiful Bodhi-Tree shrine (*Bodhi-ghara*) with towers of bay-windows (*siha-pañjara*) on either side resting on long pillars.

A somewhat analogous shrine (*Bodhi-ghara*) with an open courtyard in front, bounded by two projecting towers and an entrance gateway on the side, is glimpsed in a medallion from *Amarāvati*.⁴⁷⁰ (Plate LXI). There are five *kalasas* or *chūdās* on the main structure, which probably indicate that it is a holy shrine. There are peeping heads visible through the openings in the towers which suggest that it is a two-storied structure. Another very interesting *Bodhi-ghara* of the circular type has been skilfully reconstructed by Coomāraswāmy⁴⁷¹ from a fragment from *Amarāvati*.⁴⁷²

Two very interesting types of two-storied structures (*dvi-bhūmika*) are given in another coping-stone.⁴⁷³ The one on the left is a simple rectangular structure supported by pillars, enclosed by pierced rails of the usual type (Fig. 36), while the one on the right is a barrelled roof structure in two stages, the sides being faced with kuḍu-window forms (Fig. 37).

Gate-towers of the cities frequently occur, and Coomāraswāmy has identified the city of Kuśināra in a scene illustrating the Distribution of the Relics⁴⁷⁴ and the city of Benares in a relief illustrating the Chaddanta Jātaka.⁴⁷⁵ Both the cities have characteristic moat-walls in bricks, circular in shape, evidently round the boundaries of the cities.

Various types of assembly-halls and pavilions are glimpsed in several of the reliefs.⁴⁷⁶ They are rectangular structures with flat roofs in double string-courses, occasionally decorated with replicas of kuḍu-windows, and supported by pillars (Figs. 38 to 40). They are close analogues to similar structures represented in the frescoes of Ajanta.

A typical partition or encircling wall of buildings, frequently, figuring in domestic scenes. These walls with sloping roofs are frequently introduced in perspective views, to divide different scenes, or different stages of the same story, and lend a peculiar sense of realism and vividness to the narrations.⁴⁷⁷ Their straight lines offer very piquant contrast to the fluid lines of the curves of the teeming human figures inside the compartments delimited by the partition walls. At Nāgārjunakonda they are used formally as mechanical frames of the different panels narrating different stories. Thatched structures of various types occur in many of the scenes.⁴⁷⁸

Balconies or projecting verandahs (Plate LXII) occur in the upper part of the well-known Nālagiri Medallion (Frontispiece) through which the inmates of the harem (*antepurika*) lean, are overlooking in the street below.

470. *Ibid.*, Pl. XVIII, 2.

471. Coomāraswāmy, *Eastern Art*, II Pl. CXXXII, Fig. 34.

472. *Ibid.*, Fig. 31.

473. Burgess, Pl. XX, 2.

474. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXV, 2.

475. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVII, 2.

476. *Ibid.*, P. XXVII, 5.

477. Fergusson, Pl. LXV.

478. Burgess, Pl. XXVII, 1.

NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA

The numerous casing slabs, exquisitely carved, offer abundant materials for the study of architectural forms, principally of the composing elements. For, the reliefs, here, do not give us any representation of complete buildings or temples such as offered by the *Amarāvati* reliefs. What are represented in these reliefs are pavilions, quadrangles and walled enclosures (*angaṇas*), typical pavilions (*vimāna*) functioning as assembly-halls, and consist of vertically composed roof-units supported by pillars. The cornice mouldings sometimes terminate in a decorative kuḍu-face and are sometimes decorated with miniature reliefs of kuḍus to punctuate the monotony of long mouldings. The leading architectural motifs on these late Andhra reliefs consist of pillars, pilasters and columns of diverse shapes and patterns. The āyaka-pillars have been already referred to. Octagonal pillars with lotus bosses of the *Amarāvati* type, here, degenerate into summary forms of pilasters, and are used not functionally but as decorative frameworks for the panels. Of functional pillars with dwarf *kalata*-bases and *amalaka* capitals terminating in small spires of compressed crescent *gavākṣas*, derived from the earlier *vatapanas*, various types and patterns are met with, as supporting roofs, cornice and mouldings and are frequently used as decorative frames for the story-telling panels. Typical patterns are cited in the drawings (Figs. 41 & 42). The architectural device of dividing walls sometimes survives in developed forms, with barrelled top faced on either side by kuḍu-decorations, with elongated spires,⁴⁷⁹ from which an example is cited here (Fig. 43).

A developed variation of this element of architectural structure is provided by a series of monumental pillars in the form of an elaborate pillar or *vimāna*, on which sometimes sāla-bhañjika dolls are introduced and which are mounted by enlarged kuḍu-faced capitals with long spire. Sometimes these are compressed into dwarfish forms, of oblong shapes, the figures on the facade being replaced by floral or geometrical designs.

Two very typical horizontal decorative friezes frequently occur as framework of the panels. One consists of a series of undulating lotus leaves arranged between meandering tendrils. Another variety of this type of horizontal framework consists of lotus-shaped floral decorations alternating with bosses or flowers of which various versions occur.

The Nāgārjunakonda reliefs are somewhat poor in evidence of actual architectural structure, though it is quite possible that the various elements of architectural constructions cited above may have been borrowed from actual examples in contemporary building activity.

Various stūpas were undoubtedly constructed and decorated during the third century A.D., for which replicas of various types may be studied on the reliefs illustrating the stūpas.

Monumental or memorial pillars (*dharma-stambhas*) carrying effigies of lions or wheel and other symbols sometimes figure in these reliefs.⁴⁸⁰

GOLI

As compared with the yields of the other sites, the reliefs from Goli offer very few new data for architecture. The dividing walls in cruder and simpler forms, and sometimes in perspective view, are

479. Longhurst Memoirs (54), Pl. XXXV-b.

480. *Ibid.*, Pl. XI-c.

repeated on the reliefs here.⁴⁸¹ An interesting structure in reed representing a granary with wicker-work walls with a door and a spiral capital occurs on the Vessantara Jātaka relief.⁴⁸² On the same relief the 'grandfather panel' is given in an architectural setting which has survived in many later mediaeval constructions. In the Śaśa Jātaka scene⁴⁸³ a peaked tower, similar to Amarāvati examples, is introduced to suggest the outskirts of a city.

THE ANDHRA DESA: A STUDY OF FURNITURE AND DOMESTIC APPLIANCES

The Andhra Desa and Amarāvati offer practically very scanty information relating to furniture used in contemporary life, and provide very little data for the study of the actuality of daily life of the times, though contemporary records of literature are full of such details. On the monuments of Mathura we sometimes come across interesting items of furniture. Fortunately, the monuments of the Andhra Desa offer very rich and valuable data on this aspect of contemporary life.

In early Pāli texts a type of seats called *asandis*⁴⁸⁴ are referred to.⁴⁸⁵ Buddhaghōṣa glosses '*asandi*' as a seat 'beyond the allowed measure',⁴⁸⁶ meaning thereby low seats, as, according to the *Pacittiya* (87th), the height of the beds or chairs for the use of the Bhikkus is limited to eight 'great' inches. In *vāṇapeya* ceremonies, the *asandi* is recommended as a proper seat for kings, because of its height.⁴⁸⁷ "It is there said to be made of common sorts of wood, and probably means that the frame was of wood and the seat was of interlaced cane or wickerwork" (Rhys Davids) as we find in various examples on the Andhra reliefs. There are various types of chairs, divans, thrones and other seats, which frequently figure in the reliefs. The seated Buddha (whether represented by a figure, or a symbol) and various kings, queens and distinguished personages are invariably represented on elaborately designed and carved seats decorated with various motifs. The earliest is perhaps the chair with crooked legs 'like that of a crab' (*kultra-pāda*).⁴⁸⁸ with a semicircular back attached to projecting sides. Heras appears to derive these types of thrones from Hellenistic sources, but seats with crab-like feet are met with in very early Pāli texts.⁴⁸⁹ The type must, therefore, be indigenous and was not borrowed from any extra-Indian sources, and must have been in use in the later centuries, at least up to the Pallava period, as similar thrones with supports imitating the legs of animal's figure occur in the representations of seats of kings, e.g., the Pallava King Simhaviṣṇu⁴⁹⁰ Settees (*pallankam*), high seats and high beds (*ucca-sayana*, *maha-sayana*) are prohibited (*pativirato*) to the Bhikkus. Buddhaghōṣa⁴⁹¹ understands by *pallanko* a settee, or a divan, with animal figures carved on the supports. But in spite of this injunction, the Buddha is represented symbolically on reliefs at Amarāvati⁴⁹² and Rāmgām⁴⁹³ (Fig. 44) as seated on thrones with legs of animal. Similarly on one or two reliefs at Nāgārjunakōṇḍī, the Buddha is represented as seated on lion thrones (*Sihasana*, *Simhāsana*) with legs in the form of effigies of lions (Fig. 45). According to *Vinaya*⁴⁹⁴ the use of a *pallanko* was permitted to the

484. *Atharvaveda*, XV, 1.

485. *Digha Nikaya* I, 14, *Vinaya* II, 169, 170.

486. S.V., I, 86, "*pananatikanta sanam*."

487. *Satapatha Brahmana*, I ggelling, III 35-105.

488. Burgess, Pl. XI.VII, 1.

489. *Cullavagga*, Ch. VII, 2 and 3, datable to about 5th century B.C.

490. H. Krishna Sastri, "Two Statues of Pallava Kings", *A. S. Memoirs* (26), I, I 17.

491. *Sumāṅgala Vithāni* I, p. 86, "*Pallanka ti padesu vāla-rūpani thapetva kata...*"

492. Burgess, Pl. V, 2, Bachhofer, Pl. 115.

493. Musée Guimet, *Māra-dharsana* Slab.

494. *Vinaya* II, 170.

481. Rāmachandran, T. N. *Bulletin*, Pl. I.

482. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI.

483. *Ibid.*, Pl. XI, 10.

order, if the animal figures were broken off. This is confirmed by Buddhaghōṣa.⁴⁹⁵ Another variation of chairs is the one with the back in a concave outline with the ends raised; the sides of the chair are formed by panels curling into rolled up ends (Fig. 46). For these chairs short legs are provided in the form of dwarf jars (Fig. 47). Indeed short legs are very characteristic features of seats permitted to the Order. These low seats are called diminutive *asandika*, with short legs and made square (for sitting on, not lying on) and are sanctioned for the use of the Bhikkus by the *Vinaya* texts.⁴⁹⁶ And in the *asandi* is allowed if the tall legs are cut down.⁴⁹⁷ This is confirmed by Buddhaghōṣa.⁴⁹⁸ These low seats frequently figure on the reliefs from Amarāvati (Fig. 48). Sometimes, the pole of the back of the chair and the supports on either side end in *makara* finials. Sometimes enlarged forms of these seats are designed in oblong sizes to provide for kings and queens and other groups of figures.⁴⁹⁹ Bedsteads are sometimes met with (as in the Nativity scene) with carved legs.⁵⁰⁰ These may be compared with analogous examples from Gāndhāra (Fig. 49 a & b). These are evidently *ucca-tayanas* or *mahā-sayanas*, referred to in the texts. On the basis of a superficial similarity of the mouldings of these patterns of legs, produced by turning, Dr. Slomann has suggested that the so-called "Glastonbury" or "Henry VII" chairs have derived their forms from Indian sources.⁵⁰¹ Footstools and seating stools frequently occur. A special form of the latter is in the shape of an upturned barrel, sometimes elaborately decorated and sometimes provided with a circular back.⁵⁰² Wickerwork tables and seats are also met with on these reliefs.⁵⁰³

At Nāgārjunakonda, similar seats, thrones, and divans, with slight variations, frequently figure on the reliefs. A very peculiar seat is the one with a single leg below the centre (Fig. 50) which appears to be the ancestor of revolving chairs of modern times. The bedstead (*layana*, modern *taktā-pos*), evidently made of wood, is sometimes represented as in the scenes of the Death of the Buddha⁵⁰⁴ and in the Nativity scene.⁵⁰⁵ Wickerwork tables (which are still used by sweetmeat vendors in Northern India) figure in the scene of Casting of the Horoscope.⁵⁰⁶ Large settees, with arms and backs with *makara* heads, and in sizes, large enough to seat groups of persons, occur several times.⁵⁰⁷ Sometimes the seat of the Buddha has effigies of lions for legs.⁵⁰⁸ Lion-seats (*sihāsana*) are referred to in the *Mahāvamsa*.⁵⁰⁹ "But the lion-throne of 'Nissanka Malla'"⁵¹⁰ found at Polonnaruwa, is not a throne (*pallanka*) but an actual stone-lion, larger than life-size.⁵¹¹

495. *Sumaṅgala vilāsini*, I, 88, "pallankassa vale bhinditva pari bhuñjitum. . ."

496. *Vinaya* II, 149.

497. *Ibid.* II, 169, 170.

498. *Sumaṅgala Vilāsini*, I, 88; 'asandiyā pade chinditva paribhūñjitum. . .'

499. Fergusson, Pl. LX and LXIII.

500. Fergusson, Pl. XXVIII.

501. *Illustrated London News*, 6th Oct. 1934, 8th Dec. 1934.

502. Fergusson, Pl. XCV, 2 Burgess, Pl. XXXI 6

503. Fergusson, Pl. LXXII, Fig. 2.

504. A. S. Photo No. B-359.

505. *Ibid.* Photo No. B-440.

506. *Ibid.* Photo No. B-409.

507. Longhurst, *Memoirs* (54) Pl. XXVI and XXXIX.

508. *Ibid.* Pl. L-b.

509. *Mahāvamsa*, XXV, 98.

510. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 12, footnote.

511. *Ind. Ant.* I, 135.

At Goli, a few seats with concave posts occur on some of the reliefs. This type of seats occurs also in some reliefs in Java, where they probably migrated from Amarāvati. Some of the seats are sometimes covered with cushions and coverlets.⁵¹² Although various Pāli texts and also the *Brahma-jāla Sutta*⁵¹³ discourage and prohibit the use of all manners of coverlets (*uttaracchada*) and cushions (*attharako*, whether made of wool or silk, cotton or of hair (*gonako*, *cittika*, *patika*, *paralika*, *tulika*, *vikatuka*, *ulda-lomi*, *ekanta-lomi*), the Buddha is frequently represented in the Andhra reliefs on cushioned seats (Longhurst *Memoirs*, Pl. XIV-a c; Pl. XXIII-1). Even on empty thrones, where the Buddha is invisible (Longhurst frequently placed (Fig. 51). This occurs several times even on the later reliefs at Nāgārjunakonda.⁵¹⁴ Sometimes, the ends of cushions are decorated with tassels and fringes.⁵¹⁵ Cushions are also frequently placed on low seats and stools. Triangular cushions with bosses, for sitting on the floor, occur in the scene of the Conversion of King Kappina.⁵¹⁶

Cars, carts, and chariots—the latter of primitive types—are sometimes represented on the reliefs, as in the *Vessantara Jātaka* from Goli⁵¹⁷ and also at Amarāvati.⁵¹⁸ But the most elaborate form of vehicle is furnished by two examples of 'aerial chariots' (*vimānas*) in which the Bodhisattva descends from the Tuṣita Heaven in the Nativity scene described in the *Nidāna Katha*.⁵¹⁹ The 'Golden chariot'⁵²⁰ is represented in a relief at Amarāvati and also at Nāgārjunakonda. A very elaborate form of these types of vehicle (ancestors of later forms of *sibikas*) occurs on an Amarāvati relief of which Coomāraswāmy has given a reconstructed drawing.

Of minor items of domestic furniture, various vessels, pots and caskets are represented. Elaborate types are met with in the Relic-caskets, some of elegant shapes and ornamentations. In some of the mithuna-scenes occur earthen water-vessels (*kalasa-jar*), while a wine-jar is represented on a relief from Nāgārjunakonda. Sacred jars and anointing vessels filled with water of auspicious symbolism (*pūrṇa-ghaṭa*) and also vessels and chalices carrying sprays of flowers,⁵²¹ have been already referred to. They are frequently represented with sprays of blossoming lotuses, with their drum decorated with festoons. Cups and goblets of various shapes are met with in the mithunas and other reliefs. A large pitcher (*bhrīgāra*) for the sacred bath of the newly born babe occurs several times in the Nativity Scene (Plate LXIII).

Of other domestic items, mention should be made of pegs on the walls for hanging dresses and clothes known under the name of *nāga-daṭṭa* or *hasti-daṭṭa*, originally, actual elephant-tusks, occur in some of the mithuna-scenes, to suggest the atmosphere of happy domesticity. A pole carrying a standard is seen in the relief illustrating the *Pāmsu Avadāna*.⁵²² Trays, dishes, platters and other receptacles of food and wickerwork flower baskets frequently occur on these reliefs.

512. Burgess, Pl. XXXI, 6, Fergusson, Pl. LXIII, 7

513. *Brahma-jāla Sutta*, I, 15.

514. Longhurst, *Memoirs* (54), Pl. XXIX-b.

515. *Ibid.* Pl. XLVII-a.

516. *Ibid.* Pl. XXV-1.

517. Rāmachandran T. N., *Bulletin*, Pl. V.

518. Burgess, Pl. XLIII, 2.

519. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, 2nd edition, p. 150.

520. *Kanaka vimāna*, rendered by Rhys Davids as 'Golden Mansion', *Nidāna Katha* text, 85th para.

521. *Mahāvamsa*, XXX, 90; *puppha-punna-ghaṭa*.

522. Longhurst, *Memoirs* (54), Pl. XXXV-b.

XII. THE SO-CALLED FOREIGN INFLUENCES ON THE AMARĀVATĪ SCHOOL

On the basis of the heavy folds of drapery met with in the earlier examples of the image of the Buddha of the Amarāvati School, classicists have conjectured influences from the Gāndhāra School in which the drapery is treated in heavy folds. In a group of comparative diagrams assembled on the accompanying Plates, it is easy to realise that the Amarāvati type is substantially different from that of the Gāndhāra in many details of its iconography and there is no substantial evidence to build a theory of influences.⁵²³ As we have demonstrated elsewhere,⁵²⁴ by relating the old texts of the Buddhist legends with their plastic illustration in the Andhra reliefs that the details of the legends and their iconographic and compositional formula differed fundamentally from those followed by the masons of Gāndhāra. *A priori* the Gāndhāra models could be of no use to the Andhra artists, many of whom had illustrated some of the legends much prior to any Gāndhāra image-maker, and they had developed not only local plastic traditions of their own, but were closely affiliated to and tied to the earlier traditions of Buddhist Sculpture as practised at Pāṭalīputra, Bodh-Gayā, Bhārhut, Śāñchi, and Mathurā, as has been demonstrated. From the very beginning, the sculptors of the Amarāvati School deviated from the Northern type, be it Gāndhāra, or Mathurā, by introducing a mannerism of the hem of the garment being held in a peculiar way by the left-hand (Figs. 51 and 52 and Plate LXIV). This mannerism distinguishes the Southern type from the Northern. The peculiarity occurs on a standing Buddha figure in the Mathurā Museum, datable about 130 A.D.,⁵²⁴ from which, or from some analogous specimen, it may have been, originally, borrowed by Amarāvati sculptors.

Although *Bachhofer* suggests that the Buddha-type "railing from Gāndhāra entered Mathurā," he does not claim nor does he suggest that the Amarāvati types are borrowed from Gāndhāra. On the other hand, he asserts that "there can be no doubt that the prototypes of these representations were fetched from Mathurā."⁵²⁵ As we have shown that the Southern sculptor does not borrow any particular type from Mathurā but borrows one or two peculiarities as indicated above, peculiarities, which are adhered to as local mannerisms, and which in their turn distinguish the Southern type from the Northern. *Bachhofer* appears to insist on the data of the peculiarity of the right shoulder of the Buddha being left bare as a foundation for comparative studies.

We have already indicated the significance of this manner of leaving the right shoulder uncovered as a social convention when one person addresses another, as in the preaching-Buddha type, where this custom is invariably honoured. In meditative poses, as in the seated Mathurā examples,⁵²⁶ both the shoulders are covered. This appears to apply to the few surviving specimens of the Andhra School, in which both the shoulders are draped (Fig. 52 and 53). An exception appears in two of the three seated

523. "Some Buddhist Sculptures in relation to some Buddhist texts", *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, No. 9, 1938, pp. 544-53.

524. *Bachhofer*, Pl. 86 left.

525. *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 112.

526. *OP. cit.*

Buddhas in attitude of preaching⁵²⁷ where the right shoulder is slightly draped. Another peculiarity already noticed is the curve of the rim of the upper garment as it ascends from the right foot on its way up to the left hand. Although this peculiarity is itself derived originally from Mathurā types as will be apparent by a comparison (Fig. 54) of the Mathurā Buddhas⁵²⁸ and in spite of the fact that this peculiar manner of folds occurs in several Mathurā examples, it is never an indispensable mannerism in the Northern as in the Southern type. Although *Bachhofer* does not actually predicate Gāndhāra influences at Amarāvati, he suggests⁵²⁹ that "this manner of gathering up the dress is always connected with the Scythian Buddha," though he can cite only two examples. There is no adequate data for the assertion that this peculiarity was borrowed from Gāndhāra.

Professor *Jouveau-Dubreuil* is more dogmatic in his assertion⁵³⁰ that the Amarāvati sculptures bear unmistakable evidences of Greek and Roman influences. "In many places on the banks of the Krishna, we have found sculptured marbles of which the subjects are Buddhist and the workmanship Roman. Up to the present they have always been attributed to the Andhras. This view, I am sure, is not always correct." But above all, it is in the representation of the human body that the European influence manifests itself. The hair is curled in the Greek manner, the face is symmetrical, the limbs are sculptured according to the rule of anatomy with conscious muscles and some of them are dressed in clothes that remind us of the Roman toga."

The learned Professor does not cite specific examples of Greek or Roman prototypes which could be said to have influenced the Andhra artists, and in the absence of specific comparative data it is impossible to deal with his theory of Greek, or Roman "derivation" of Andhra sculpture. He appears to have been impressed with the plastic quality, and above all, by the masterly treatment of form in Andhra sculpture, and found it difficult to ascribe the fine quality of workmanship to indigenous genius. Andhra sculpture is not obsessed by "rules of anatomy" and shows a remarkable facility and skill in using human forms in an infinite variety of poses without subscribing to any set rules of anatomical conventions. The dictum of Da Vinci "Learn anatomy and then forget it" appears to apply to Andhra sculpture with peculiar significance.

Professor *Vogel*⁵³¹ has been led to a theory of Western influence on Andhra sculpture, on the basis of the two figures (he refers actually to one), of the so called Scythian warrior (Plate XI). "Among these productions of genuine Indian Art there occur a few figures which clearly reveal Western influence. . . . There is something queer in the appearance of a Scythian warrior with helmet and spear, or of a half-naked man with a drinking horn (*rhinton*) in his hand among the sculptures which have come to light on this site and which are mostly permeated with the fragrance of Buddhist piety." There is no doubt that these figures wear an un-Indian dress and probably represent foreign types, but an individual foreign type cannot be a possible import, or imply foreign influences on Andhra sculpture. On the basis of the head of an European wearing a hat, which figures on the tower of the *Brhadēsvara* Temple at Tanjore, one may as well import foreign influences on Chola Architecture.

527. *Ibid.* Pl. 131

528. *Ibid.* Pl. 79, 80, 88

529. *Ibid.* I, p. 114, Note 1

530. *The Pallavas*, 1927, p. 10

531. *Vogel, Buddhist Art*, Oxford, 1936, pp. 47-48

It was given to another protagonist of "influences" to disprove the suggestion of Prof. Vogel. For, Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil has very ably demonstrated that this manner of dress—the long tunic (blouse) was a characteristic habit of a class of domestic servants represented on Andhra monuments.⁵³² The so-called "spear" is a staff which grooms used to carry to control horses, and is an appropriate stick carried by Chandaka as he runs in front of the riding Buddha. "It is without doubt that the sculpture of Nāgārjunakonda does not represent any Scythian but a groom ("palefrenier"), and possibly Chandaka." Indeed, Chandaka is represented in this un-Indian tunic in the Return of Chandaka scene in the British Museum beam from Amarāvati, from which the kneeling figure is borrowed here (Fig. 55). A group of figures similarly dressed in quilted tunics also occurs in a Nāgārjunakonda relief. The partially nude figures carrying a horn (Plate XII) undoubtedly represent, as proved by Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil, Silenus the god of wine, suggested by his jar of the vintage, and may have been derived from the Mathurā Silenus, and "most certainly not copied from any European model."⁵³³

Yet another learned Professor has scented foreign influences on Andhra sculpture. On the evidence of a type of divans (*asandi*, *pallaṅko*) with crooked legs which figure on various reliefs at Amarāvati and other sites where the Buddha is symbolized, Professor Heras has been led to a theory of Greek "influence," at Amarāvati.⁵³⁴ This type of divan is referred to in the *Cullavagga* as *kultra-pada āsana* ('seats with legs of oysters'), and is also referred to in an early text, that of the *Brahma-jala-Sutta*, and, therefore, it may be contended that these types of divans (which have undoubted analogues in Greek monuments) were known to Indians from very early times, at least, long prior to any period of possible Greek influence.

The Buddhist sculpture of the Andhra School, though intimately connected with the schools of Bhārhut, Śāñchī, and Mathurā, with which it maintained contact at various stages of its history, do not offer any substantial data on which one could build any theory of foreign, or un-Indian influences.

532. "Laws L'Art d'Amarāvati C'est la blouse qui caractérise les domestiques".

533. *Bulletin de L'Association Française, des Amis de L'Orient*, No. 13, Oct. 1932, pp. 22-26.

534. The Origin of Pallavas, *Journal of the Bombay University*, Vol. V, Pl. 4, p. 39.

XIII. RELATIONS OF THE ANDHRA SCHOOLS

The lively school of sculpture which flourished in the Andhra Desa for nearly five hundred years (first century B.C. to 400 A.D.) exercised considerable influence on other centres of Buddhist culture. Of all the other centres, Ceylon was for some time intimately connected with the Buddhist Schools on the bank of the Krishna. There are authentic epigraphic records to which reference has already been made, to show that a large number of Sinhalese Buddhists were attracted to this region for the study and practice of the Buddhist doctrines, which necessitated special provisions for the accommodation of these visiting Buddhists from Ceylon. The latter must have been very much impressed with the quality of the sculpture which decorated the stupas at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakonda and, particularly, with the material of the grey marble which was a speciality of the early Andhra School. It appears that when there was a proposal for some stone monument in the reign of Duttha Gāmapī, as recorded in the *Mahāvamsa*,⁵³⁵ two special messengers, viz., Sāmapera Uttara and Sumana were despatched to India by the Bhikku-sangha on a commission to procure the particular variety of Indian stone of 'mucous colour' (*meda-vanna pāsāṇe*; v.r., *pāsāṇe meghavannake*—'cloud-coloured stones') used at Amarāvati and other related sites, probably, the idea being that the virtue of Andhra sculpture was half derived from the materials used. Various conventions and iconographic peculiarities, both of the standing and seated images of the Buddha executed in Ceylon, were derived from the Andhra models with which many phases of Sinhalese Buddhist images have striking affinities. The most striking affinity is the peculiar disposition of the upper garment which makes a heavy curve near the feet, a peculiar Andhra convention borrowed in the Sinhalese School, which bears still closer affinities, stylistic and iconographic, to the Andhra School. The most striking examples of this affinity were noticed by Hocart⁵³⁶ and to which Paranavitana has recently drawn attention.⁵³⁷ The so-called Annunciation (Colombo Museum, 46 (b)) and the Casting of the Horoscope (46-a wrongly labelled as the Miracle of Śrāvastī) as are obviously derived from related precedents from Amarāvati. The style is somewhat crude and lacking in delicacy and grade, but there is a conscious copying of well-known reliefs from Amarāvati, both in poses, types, and compositions. More happy in attractive and lively composition are two broken panels two sides of a pillar from the Northern Tope, Anurādhapura,⁵³⁸ depicting human couples (posed very much like the mithunas at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakonda) carrying offerings. The types, poses, style as well as the architectural setting closely follow the Andhra models which have undoubtedly inspired the 'Seven-head Cobra' from the Eastern Tope, Anurādhapura, with its quadruple loops,⁵³⁹ really representing the guarding of relics at Rāmgām, which is also a close repetition of related Amarāvati reliefs.

The standing as well as the seated specimens of the Buddha image found by Gopinath Rao at Kāmākṣidevi Temple at Conjeevaram,⁵⁴⁰ are also closely related images cited by Rao in his article from

535. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXX, Verse 57, 59, Ch. XXXI verse 121.

536. *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section C, January 1927, Vol. I, Part 3, pp. 95-97, Pl. XLII to XLV.

537. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Art*, Vol. XI, 1936, p. 15.

538. *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Vol. I, 1927, Pl. XLIV.

539. *Ibid.* Pl. XLVII.

540. "Buddha Vestiges in Kāñchīpura," *Ind. Antiquary*, XLIV, 1915 p. 127 ff.

this. The turn of the curve of the *sanghati* near the feet is an unmistakable convention of the Andhra Buddhas. This image may have come from some old Buddhist sites of Andhra, and is, very likely, the work of some Andhra image-maker.

But the influence of the school also spread to more distant regions. In many examples of Buddhist images in Cambodia and *Champa* there are unmistakable affinities to early Andhra types, particularly in the peculiarity of the drapery. This is very well demonstrated by a comparison of the well-known example (bronze image) from Dong-Duong (*Champa*) with Andhra models.

"There is much reason to believe that Indian formulae, both in sculpture and architecture, had found their way to Indo-China and Indonesia long before the earliest monumental evidence becomes available, and that probably in this influence the Andhra art of Vengi, best known by the reliefs of Amarāvati, played a very important part."⁵⁴¹

Though clearly differentiated from the types of the Gupta School, by the distinguishing peculiarity of the treatment of the drapery, the standing Buddhas of the late Andhra School (e.g., the examples from Buddha-pada (Bezawāda) [now in the British Museum], here, illustrated (Plate LVI and LVII) have clear affinities to the general stylistic conventions of the Gupta images. While in the earlier images of the Andhra School, the ripple-marks of the folds of the drapery is an inevitable feature, the examples of the later period gradually eliminated the ripple-marks, and approached the Gupta treatment of the "wet drapery" technique which makes the *sanghati* adhere to the skin of the figure so as to reveal the shape and modelling of the body underneath. In this way, the Andhra School maintains its contact with the Northern development, and proves its affiliation to the main branches of India sculpture.

XIV. REVIEW

We have now been able to make a fairly complete, if not an exhaustive, survey of the rise and development of Andhra School in all its branches and have been able to put together the leading examples and data that go to make up and represent its iconographic and plastic growth. Iconographically, it responds to the doctrinal development at various stages of its history in other centres of Buddhism and interprets Buddhist beliefs and practices, from time to time, during the period the school lived and flourished in the Andhra Desa, with Vengi as its centre. Our study, however faulty and incomplete and bearing the imperfections of a pioneer effort, has given us enough materials to judge and to critically appraise the value and character of this school of sculptures and to indicate its place in the general history of Indian Art.

The school developed in connection with the cult of decorating and worshipping the stūpa and, doctrinally, it is associated with the *Cattya-sandakas* ('Worshippers of the Mound') and latterly, after the advent of the image-worship, with the *Mahāsāghikas*. Johnston,⁵⁴² relying on the association of Nāgārjuna with the renovation and decoration of the Amarāvati Stūpa, characterizes the sculptures as "*Mādhyamika* Art," that is to say, as illustrative of *Mādhyamika* doctrines. It is difficult to endorse this characterization, unless we are prepared to recognize in the edifying panels, rondells, and uprights illustrating the Life of the Buddha, and the *Jātakas* and other related legends (*avadānas*) and the two methods of iconic and aniconic representations as plastic parallels to and a sculptural application of the "Middle Course" that "avoids the extremes of annihilation and permanence" (*Dasabhūmika*). The magnificent reliefs were set up on the stūpas and on the railings, that is to say, between the procession path of pilgrims, for the purpose of stimulating and strengthening their faith in the Buddha and, consequently, in the efficacy of His doctrine. For 'He who gazes at me gazes at the Doctrine'. That the sculptured reliefs, in skilfully delineating the Life and the Legends of the Buddha, admirably succeeded in spreading and propagating the doctrine, goes without saying. For many centuries, these centres of Buddhism in the Andhra Desa with their sculptured galleries attracted the faithful lay-believers from far and near, many of whom, as attested by dedicatory inscriptions, themselves contributed to these sculptured decorations of the stūpas, as pious acts of spiritual merits (*deyadhamma*).

The artists who began to decorate these monuments, and some of whom may have come from Vidiśa and Mathurā, were in intimate contact with the traditions of Buddhist Art in the Northern centres, and had enough thematic and technical precedents at their disposal to carry out their tasks. Many of the earlier patterns, designs, and types are closely related to Northern traditions, as we have been able to demonstrate by the comparative drawings cited in the course of our study. But, however, much Śāñchī, Bodh-Gayā or Mathurā might have offered precedents and inspiration, the local school soon developed a richer and a more developed language with new vocabularies of forms, techniques, and types. The male figures, conceived in sturdy athletic types, "with broad stout chests",⁵⁴³ with characteristic head-dress and drapery, originally derived from the cave monuments of the West and from the Kuṣāṇa types of the

541. Coomāraswāmi: *Rupam*, No. 339, 1929, p. 76.

542. Introduction to *Buddhism*, III, p. XXX.

543. *Buddhacarita*, X, 1, *prthupina vakrah*.

Mathurā School, are followed and developed into freer and more articulate poses and attitudes, interpreted in lively moving types of Yakṣas, Devas, princes, and attendants—whose dynamic movements appear to throw them out of their lithic frames, with a centrifugal force from the centres of their composition, with an impetuous velocity. The Andhra artist, at the outset, begins to invest the static forms of Śāñchi and Bodhi-Gayā, with a new energy of movement and velocity, and characterizes them with a dynamic feeling, both linear and plastic, unknown to the earlier phases of Buddhist sculpture. Every individual in the compositions, including the seated figures, with their limbs thrown about in hectic gestures, appears to be moving, dancing, flying, or running. The carvers of these reliefs appear to have been composing garlands of plastic hymns of crowds in action, like the *sadāmatta* angels, in a 'continuous state of intoxication'. Even the worshipping figures, kneeling on the earth, bend their limbs in acrobatic movements of great tension and liveliness. If we compare the grave, static, and balanced compositions of Jaggaṃyapeta and the Amarāvati reliefs of the archaic period with those in the next stage of the development, we are overwhelmed with a feeling of a sudden snapping of all reins of restraint—an unexpected release of pent up energies, latent in the early Buddhist sculptures, but hitherto held in chain with a severe discipline and rebuke. In interpreting the forms of feminine beauty a similar freedom from restraint is apparent from the beginning of the Andhra School. The local school no doubt derives its early types of female forms from Śāñchi and Mathurā, but it soon abandons or modifies the Northern models and evolves an elongated and slim type, extremely thin and nervous, with luscious busts contrasting with the sunken waists (*mūṃśakāya*) which develop into huge hips which are thrown up and down in a variety of original attitude and gestures and of which the normal type is characteristically represented in the standing figure with hips shot out in an aggressive outline (Figs. 56 & 57). This female type, though belonging to the same lineage as the Śāñchi dryads and the Mathurā Yakṣis, of which some are copied on the archaic panels at Jaggaṃyapeta and Amarāvati (Fig. 58), is conceived in an exaggerated attenuation which contrasts with the thick-set dwarfish types of the Mathurā School. Indeed, in most of these slim figures (in the words of Aśvaghoṣa), "Their bodies bent down under the load of their breasts" (*stana-bharair avananya-gatrah*). And as the same poet suggests: "the damsels were delayed in their movements by the weight of their chariot-like hips and full breasts." The necklaces (to borrow the words of the poet again) are 'thrown into disorder by their heaving busts'.⁵⁴⁵ More characteristically the female figures, not only in the worshipping types (Fig. 59) sometimes conceived "in slender bodies bent like a bow"⁵⁴⁶ but also in the erotic types of the mithunas join their hands above their heads, in the entrancing forms of lotus-buds.⁵⁴⁷ The navel is invariably shown in a happy dimple above the waist-cloth held in position by a belt (*nivi-vandha*), below the upper abdomen, rendered in luscious curves. But their ample hips are rendered, particularly in the back views, in a peculiar anatomical convention, by which the fifth lumbar vertebra descends to develop into two gluteus muscles which are indicated by two deeply incised curves near the sacrum prominence (Fig. 60). The extremely elongated legs are somewhat broken by the lines of the heavy "tremulous anklets,"⁵⁴⁸ which copy the thick archaic "leg-bangles" (*pāda-valaya*) of the Mathura figures. A very close analogue to this type has been furnished by some of the incised ivory figures from Afghanistan recently discovered by Hackin.⁵⁴⁹ There is no doubt that the upper part of the body is undraped, like those of the figures in the Ajanta frescoes (to which

544. *Ibid.* III, 16.

545. *Soundarānanda-Kāvya*, X, 37.

546. *Buddhacarita*, V, 52; 'Cāpa-vibhugna-gātra-yaṣṭiḥ'.

547. *Soundarānanda-Kāvya*, IV, 32, 'Kṛtāñjalim mūrdhanipadma-kalam'.

548. *Ibid.*, IV, 17.

549. *Indian Arts and Letters*, XII, 1, 41, ff., Pl. II.

many of the Amarāvati female figures are close analogues), but the lower part of the body including the hips is draped by a thin diaphanous cloth, as Aśvaghoṣa has pointed out "their hips were veiled by diaphanous robes."⁵⁵⁰ We have, here, repeatedly appealed to the poetical description of Aśvaghoṣa in characterizing the peculiarities of Andhra sculpture. Unfortunately, it appears from an examination of the poet's text and the details of many of the legends as rendered in these reliefs that the sculptors did not follow, or were unacquainted with the works of Aśvaghoṣa who may have himself derived his imageries from the luscious conventions of these plastic artists. Johnston has remarked,⁵⁵¹ "I cannot trace with certainty Aśvaghoṣa's influence on the details of any extent sculptures dealing with it."

In various details of the technique, the stone reliefs of the decorative casing slabs (*silāmaya*, *kañcuka*) display considerable progress and development. In the first place, the figures are grouped, weaved and composed in numerous original poses, attitudes, and gestures, and with a freedom of movement absolutely unknown to earlier reliefs. Although, the law of frontality has been transgressed in several reliefs at Śāñchi, where figures are shown with their backs turned against the spectator, in the Andhra School this unconventionality is carried to extreme length (Figs. 61 & 62) and numerous figures are depicted with their backs to the spectators—a position which enables the artist to render the human form in many and diversified aspects and attitudes. This is very typically illustrated in a scene in a royal palace, where a dramatic representation is in progress. The most characteristic quality of the Andhra School is evident in its unconventional and free rendering of human form, in individual figures as well as in groups, devised in diversified gestures and attitudes, which are exploited to the utmost capacities of their expressive powers, narrative as well as subjective.

The movement of the figures, the attitudinized postures of all the limbs, the poses of the hands, the bent of the head, the swing of the body, are utilized in a rich vocabulary of gestures as instruments of expression with the face as an index of expression; the spiritual physiognomy is not yet developed—not even on the faces of the Buddhas.

The treatment of the figures in foreshortened forms, in various applications, has called for greater volume depth and dimension in the carvings, which are, invariably, in high relief. Indeed, in the later developments at Nāgārjunakonda and Goli, the dense modelling of the figures obliterates the linear outlines. The technique of the carvings is, therefore, far in advance of the Śāñchi, if not of the Mathurā reliefs. As regards the method of narrating the stories, Andhra sculptors have followed the Śāñchi precedent (of *Abhinīṣkramana* scene, Śāñchi Eastern Gate, middle architrave)⁵⁵² of what Wickoff calls the 'pseudo-continuous' method of repeating the figures of the principal personages in a series of scenes which represent crucial moments in a story. This is typically illustrated in the Goli relief depicting the Subjugation of Nalagiri.⁵⁵³ In grouping the figures and in indicating successive places in space, distance and depth are suggested as at Śāñchi, but more methodically by placing successive figures or rows, one above another, what is further away being placed above what is in the foreground. Architectural perspective, almost unknown at Śāñchi is, here, freely introduced, and architectural details are frequently used to divide different scenes or stories, or to indicate the different stages of the same story. The rendering of the two sides of

550. *Buddhacarita*, IV, 34, 'Stōpa tanvāśukāvṛtāḥ'.

551. *Ibid.* II, Introduction, p. XXX, ff.

552. Bachhofer, Pl. I.

553. Rāmchandran, T. N., *Bulletin*, Pl. III.

buildings, pavilions and gates is still continued in the formula familiar at Śāñchi, but with greater skill and accuracy and with the greater realization of the principles of scientific perspective. Architecture is frequently used to indicate depth or distance (Fig. 63). "The approach towards the dimension of depth, however, is not that of the eye and its illusion, but it is derived from a dynamic relatedness of volumes" (Kramrisch).

To return to the treatment of human figures, the male figures, except in the dancing and moving examples, are invariably conceived in a static equipoise, lending them a feeling of self-possessed discipline and a quality of spirituality, while the female figures, even in their poses of adoration and worship, are conceived in a ceaseless spirit of restlessness, not only in the abhinaya poses of their limbs, in dynamic tension but also in the fluid movement of their linear outlines. The only relief and contrast to the nervous and sensitive movements of the body are sometimes, provided by the elegant langour suggestive of a physical relaxation—in seated as well as standing figures—whose slender and willowy forms appear to collapse under the stress of their excessive movements. Their poses, invariably invented in sensuous suggestions, appear to be mere pretexts to display the charms of their limbs, even in their attitudes of worshipful devotion, (Fig. 62) which loses its spirituality in a riotous exhibition of physical charms. There are more spiritual implications in the symbolism of the mithuna-couple than in any of the worshipping devotees or adoring damsels, in their unrestrained gestures and in their wanton abandonment. The beauty of the human figures and their elegant proportions and refined poses are frequently emphasized by skilful juxtaposition, in neighbouring reliefs, or panels, or pot-bellied ugly dwarfs who never seem to outgrow their miniature forms. Sometimes, the rhythmic gesture of the human figures are paralleled by another order of movement, rhythm and beauty derived from plant life which provide an infinite variety of decorative motifs and ornamental setting to the story-telling reliefs. In the garland-bearing designs on the coping-stones, the human figures attain, by contrast, a liveliness and a piquant elegance. Indeed, in the whole array of Indian Art, human form has rarely been treated with such entrancing beauty and elegance, with such convincing gestures and plastic eloquence. It is the sculptural parallel to the frescoes of Ajanta, and their brilliant rendering of the human form.



Fig. 1: LION CAPITAL, Barhut

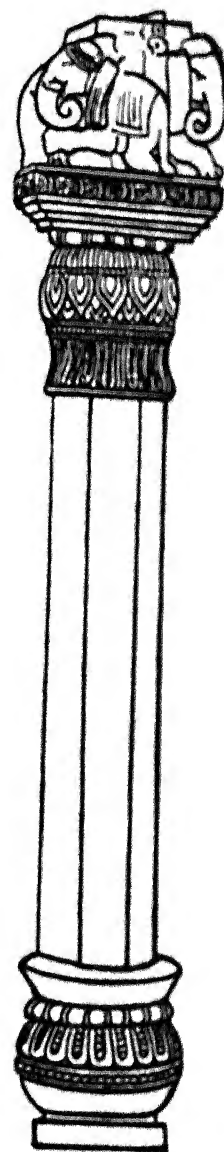


Fig. 2: PILLAR WITH ELEPHANT CAPITAL.,
Amaravathi, Guntur District.



Fig 3: YAKSHA DWARAPALA, Nasik



Fig 4: YAKSHA on an AQUATIC ANIMAL, Jaggayapeta



Fig. 5: YAKSHA on an AQUATIC ANIMAL, Jaggayapeta



Plate I: TWO LARGE BUDDHA IMAGES



Plate II: A RELIEF OF STANDING BUDDHA WITH TWO ATTENDANTS, Madras Museum



Plate III: A SERIES OF SIX STANDING BUDDHA IMAGES IN RELIEF ON AN OCTAGONAL PILLAR



Plate IV : A SERIES OF SEATED IMAGES
OF FORMER BUDDHAS

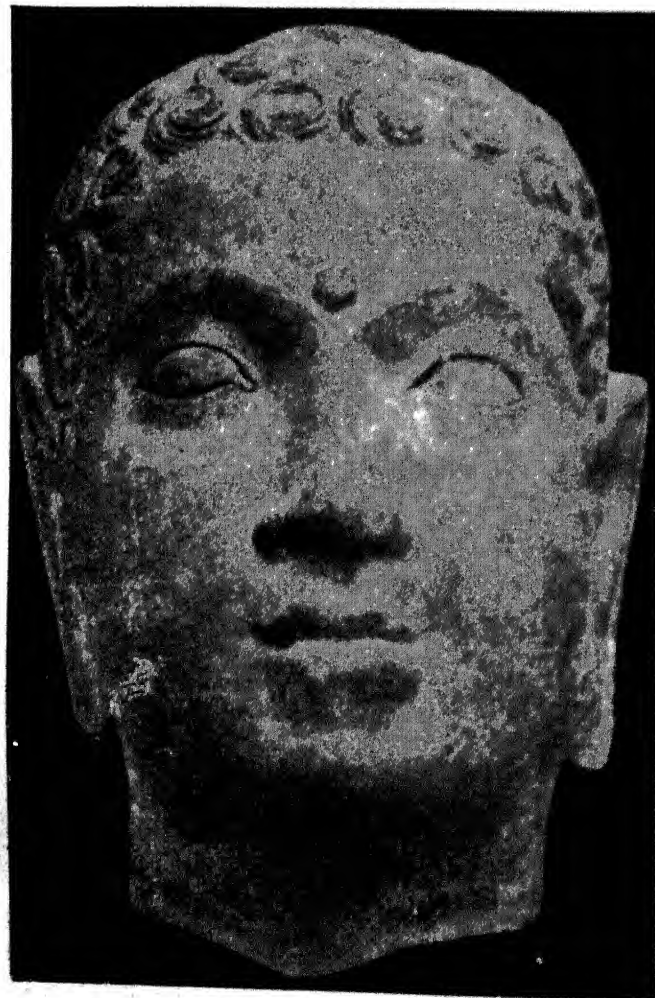


Plate V : HEAD OF BUDDHA, Amaravathi

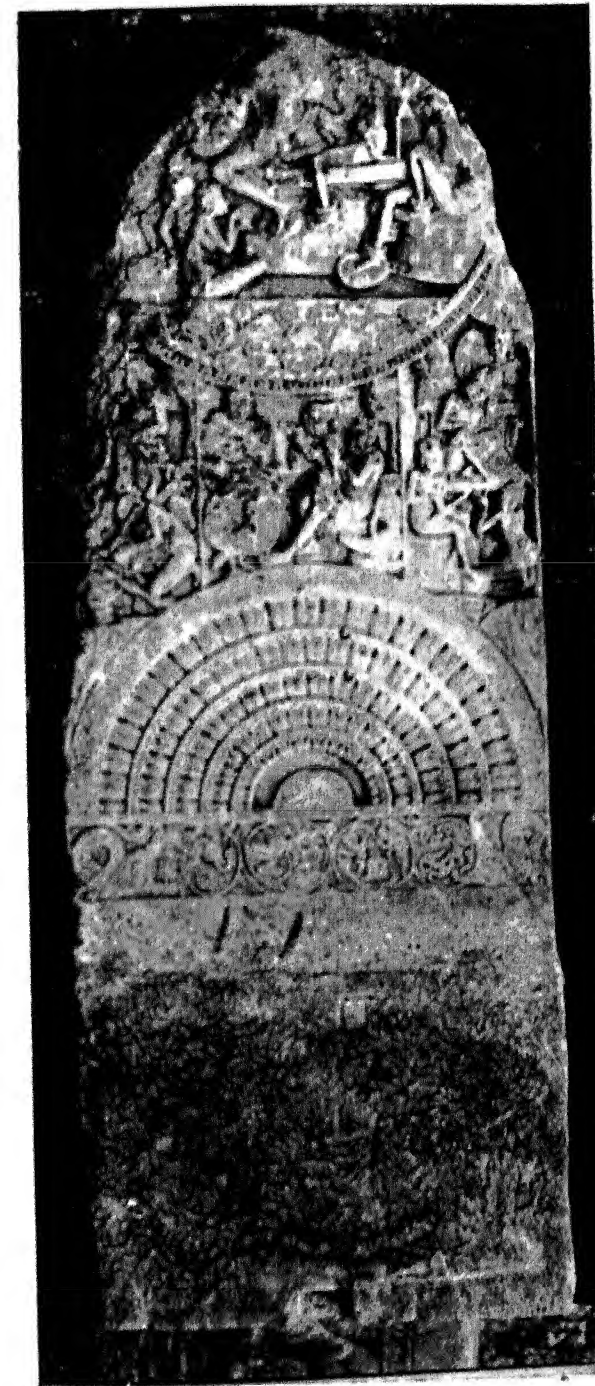


Plate VI : RAILING PILLAR, Amaravathi



Plate VII : RAILING PILLAR, Amaravathi

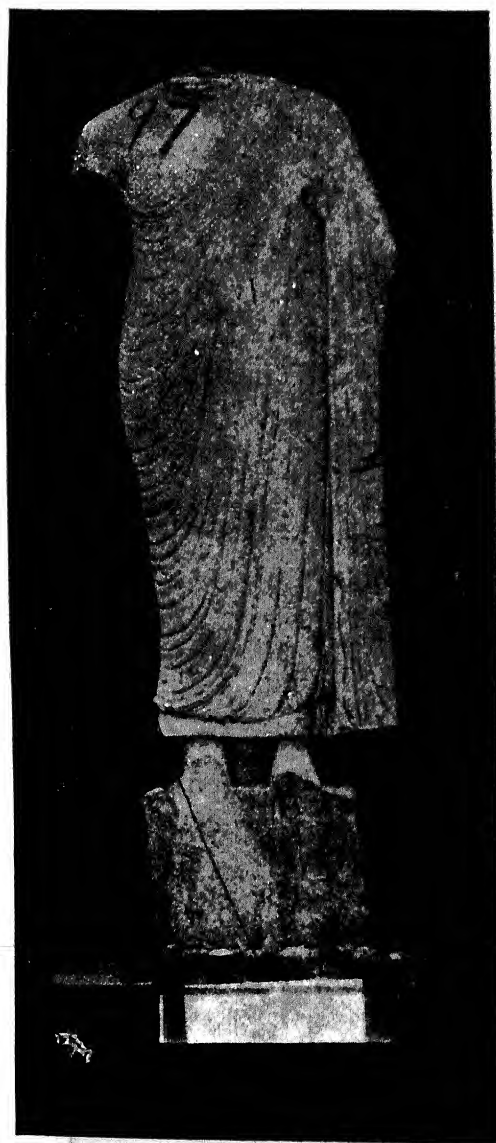


Plate VIII : STANDING IMAGE OF
BUDDHA, Amaravathi



Plate IX : STANDING IMAGE OF BUDDHA,
Amaravathi



Plate X : DANCING FIGURE,
Nagarjunakonda

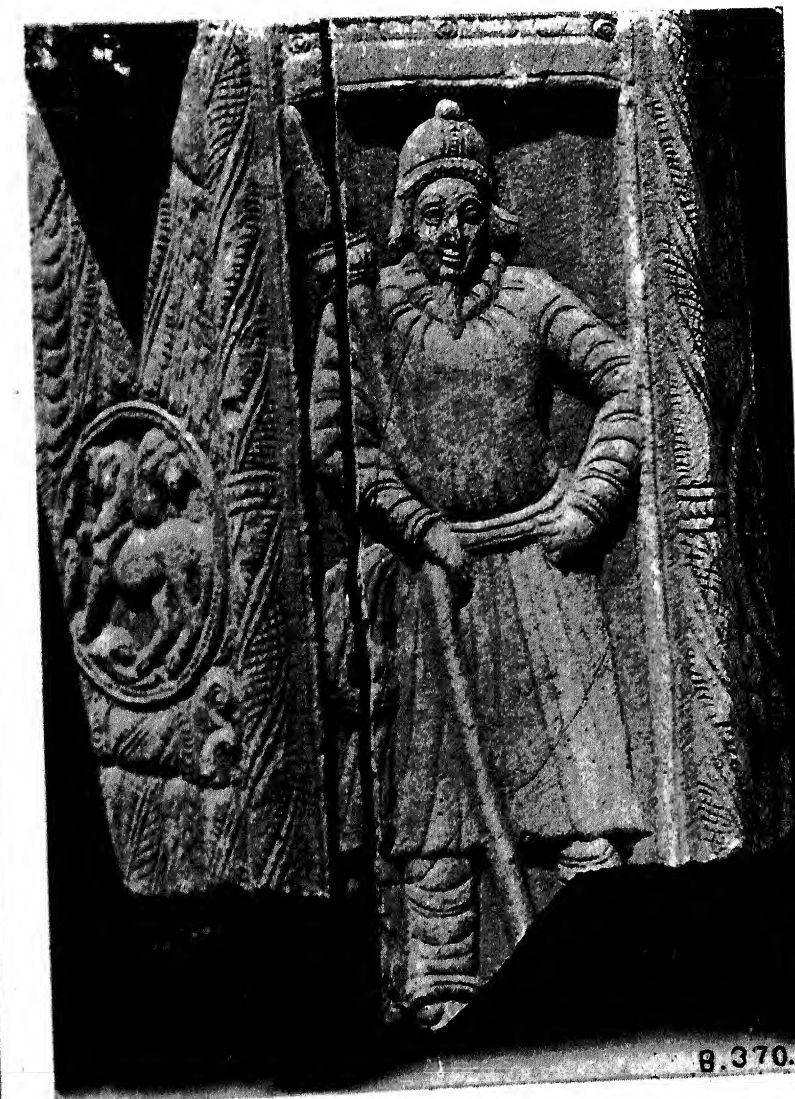


Plate XI : RETAINER IN SCYTHIAN DRESS,
Nagarjunakonda



*Plate XII : SEMI-NUDE HELLENISTIC FIGURE
CARRYING A HORN, Nagarjunakonda*



Plate XIII : BUDDHA PADA, Nagarjunakonda



Plate XIV : SUBJUGATION OF NAGA KING, Nagarjunakonda

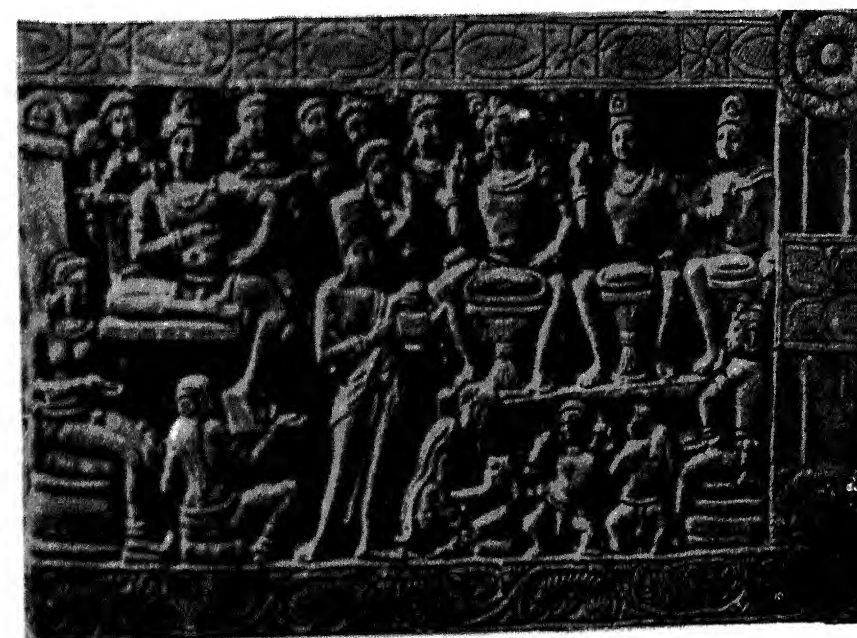


Plate XV : CASTING OF HOROSCOPE, Nagarjunakonda

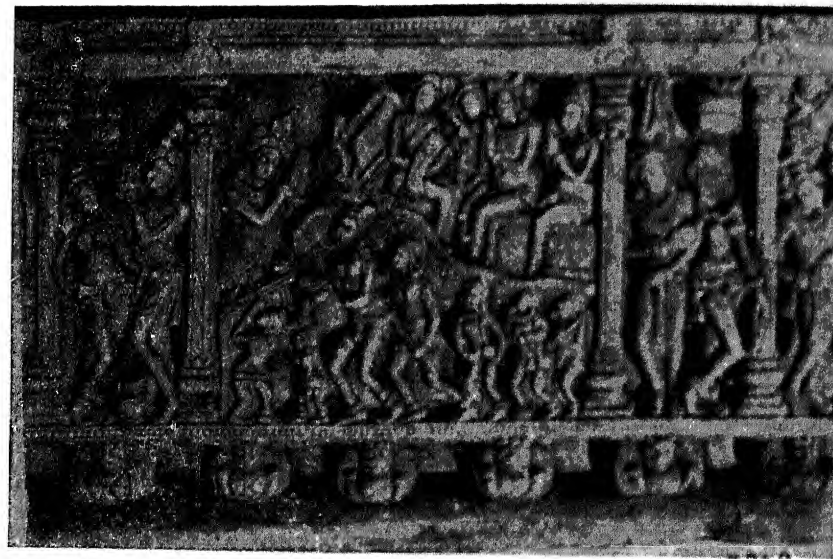


Plate XVI : ASITA'S VISIT, Nagarjunakonda



Plate XVII : SINGING AND DANCING DEVAS,
Nagarjunakonda

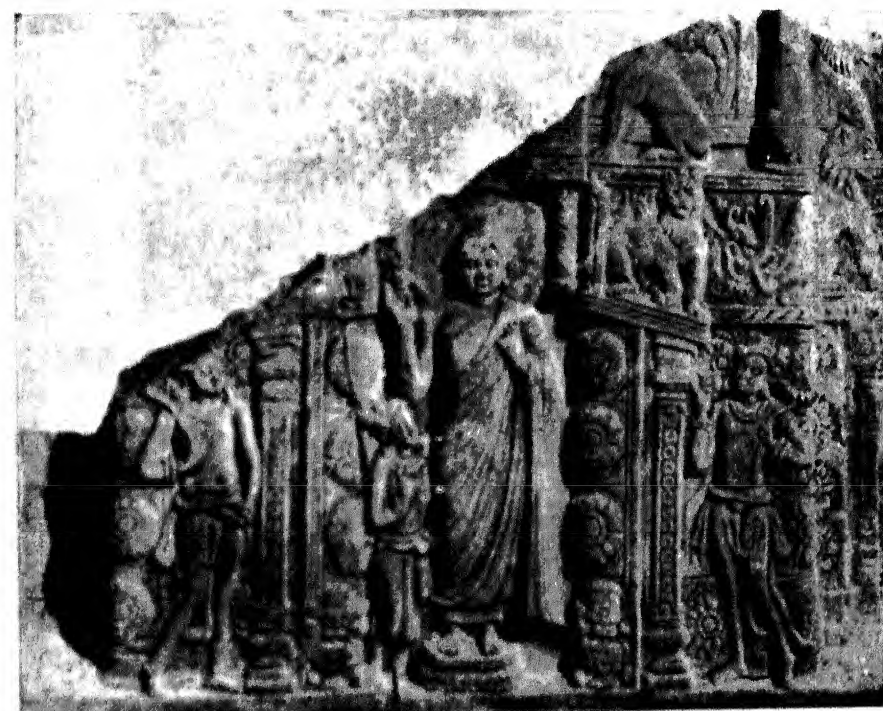


Plate XVIII : STUPA SLAB WITH STANDING BUDDHA,
Nagarjunakonda



Plate XIX : TORSO OF
BUDDHA, Nagarjunakonda



Plate XX : WORSHIP
OF FOOT PRINT,
Amaravathi



Plate XXI : MAN AND CHILD, Amaravathi



Plate XXII : ANIMAL MOTIFS, Amaravathi

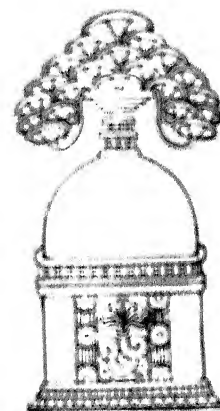


Fig. 6 : REPLICA
OF A CAITYA,
Amaravathi

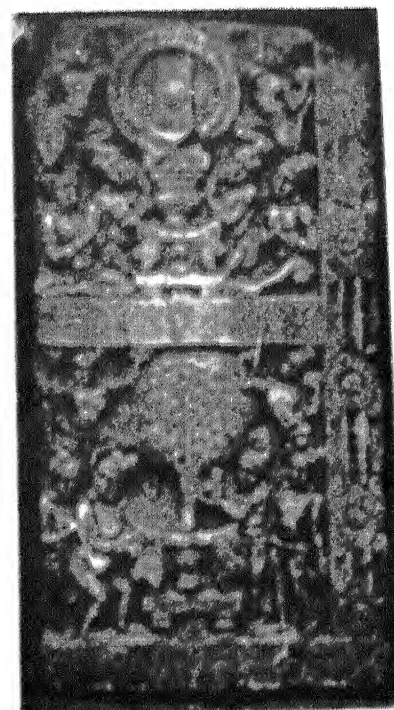


Plate XXIV : STUPA SLAB,
Amaravathi

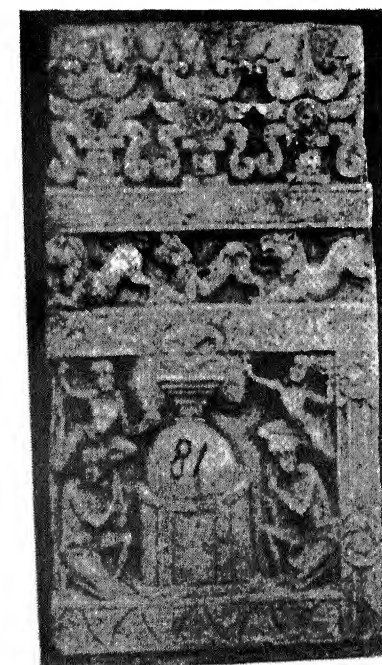


Plate XXIII : STUPA SLAB,
Amaravathi

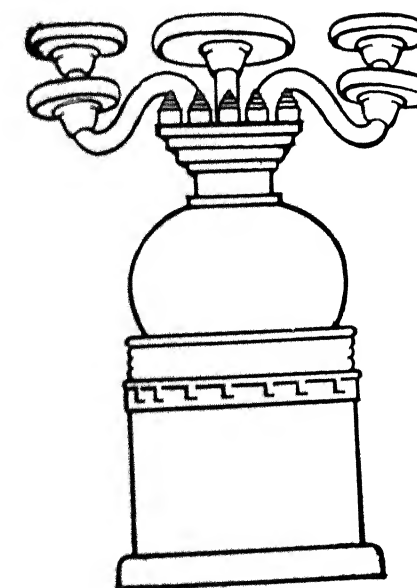


Fig. 7 : STUPA WITH MULTIPLE
UMBRELLAS, Nasik



Plate xxv : STUPA SLAB,
Ramgam



Fig. 8 : STUPA WITH WORSHIPPERS, Ramgam

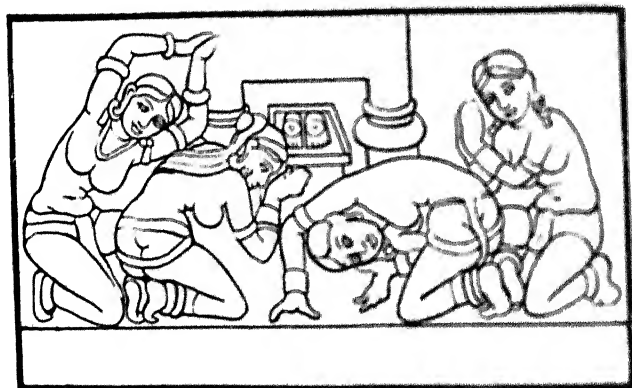


Fig. 9 : WORSHIP OF FOOT PRINTS, Amaravathi



Fig. 10 : STANDING
IMAGE OF BUDDHA,
Amaravathi



Fig. 11 : STANDING BUDDHA,
Mathura



Fig. 12 :
STANDING
BUDDHA,
GANDHARA



Fig. 16: MITHUNA, Patna



Fig. 17: MITHUNA, Kanheri

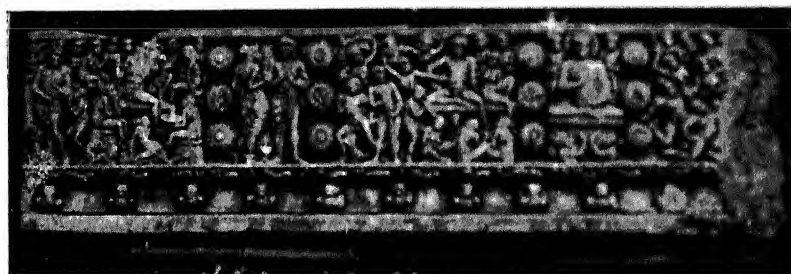


Plate XXIX : CORNICE BEAM, Amaravathi

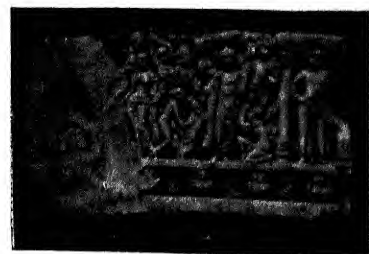


Plate XXX : CORNICE BEAM,
Amaravathi

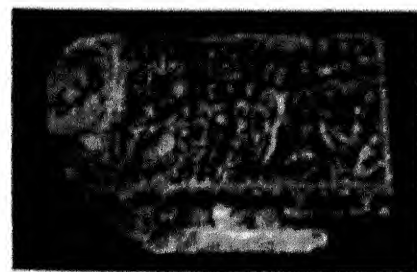


Plate XXXI : CORNICE BEAM,
Amaravathi



Plate XXXII : CORNICE BEAM, Amaravathi

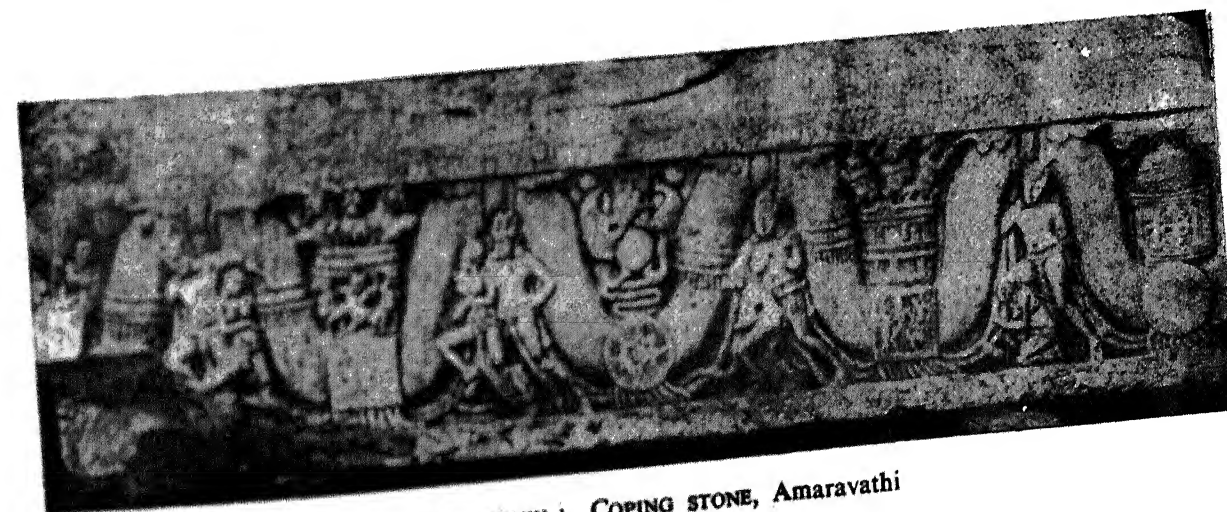


Plate XXXIII : COPING STONE, Amaravathi



Plate XXXV : UPRIGHT WITH NADIDEVATAS, Amaravathi



Plate XXXVI : COPING STONE, Amaravathi

ANIMAL MOTIFS



Fig. 18 a



Fig. 18 b



Fig. 18 c

ANIMAL MOTIFS

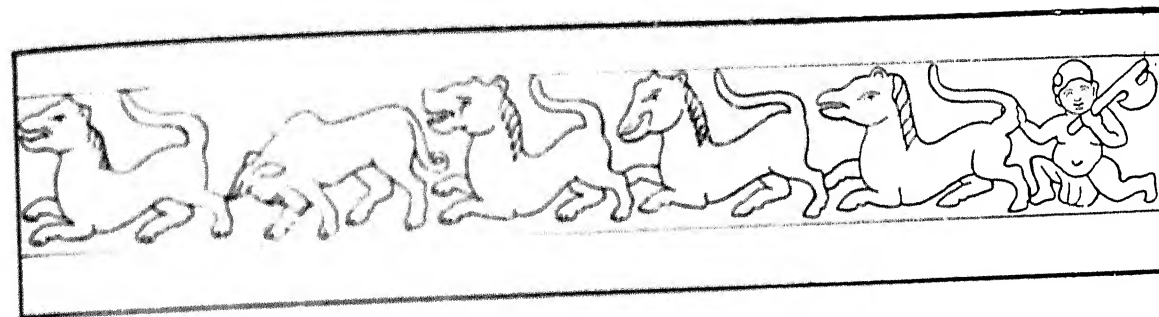


Fig. 18 d

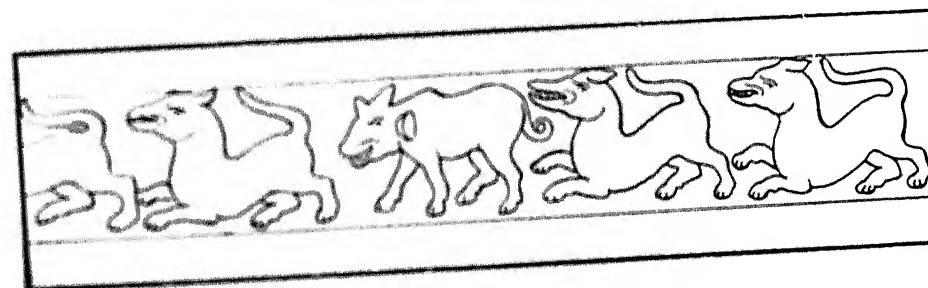


Fig. 18 e



Fig. 18 f

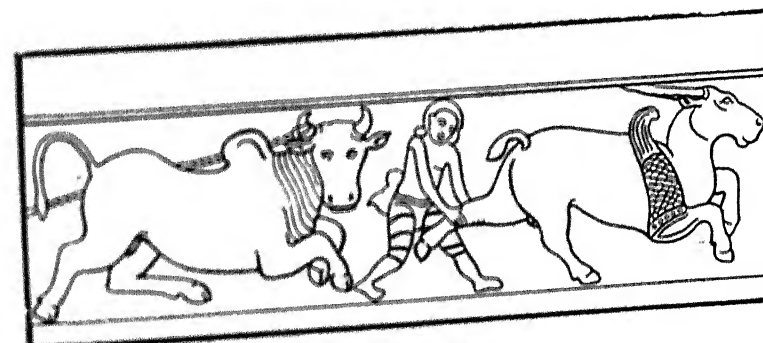


Fig. 18 g



Plate XXXVII : WORSHIP OF THE RELIC, Ramgam



Plate XXXVIII : WORSHIP OF THE RELIC, Ramgam

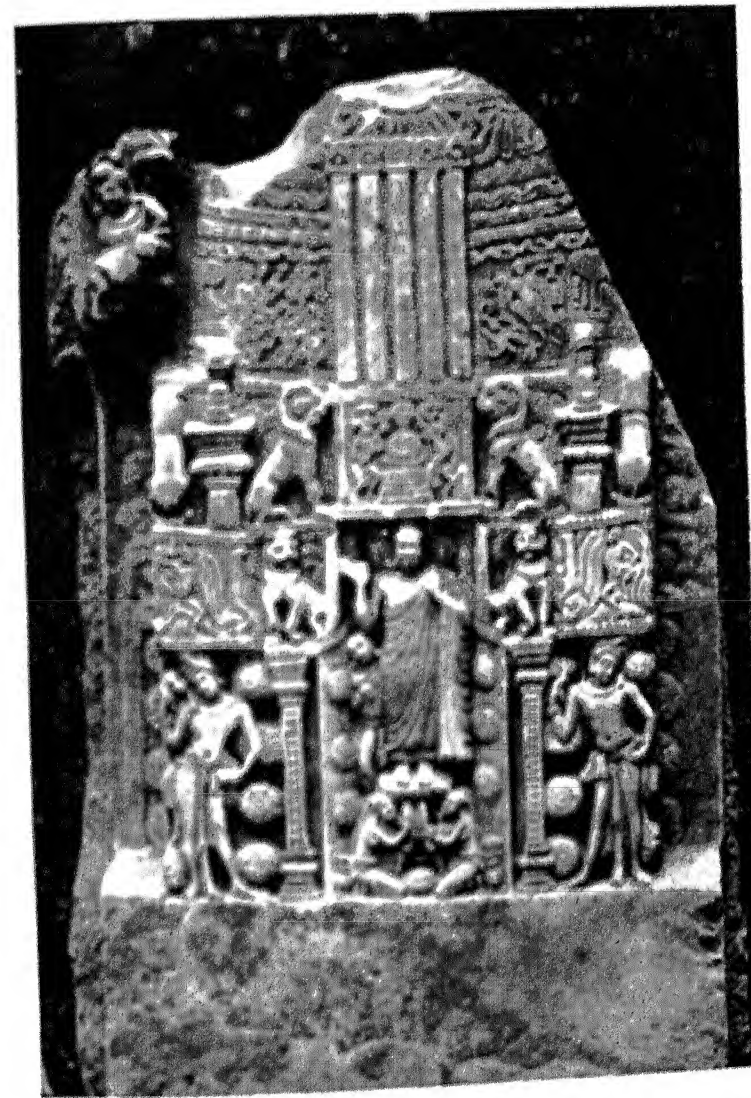


Plate XXXIX : STUPA SLAB WITH STANDING BUDDHA
-Nagarjunakonda-METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART,
NEW YORK



Plate XL : STUPA SLAB WITH
SEATED BUDDHA, Nagarjunakonda

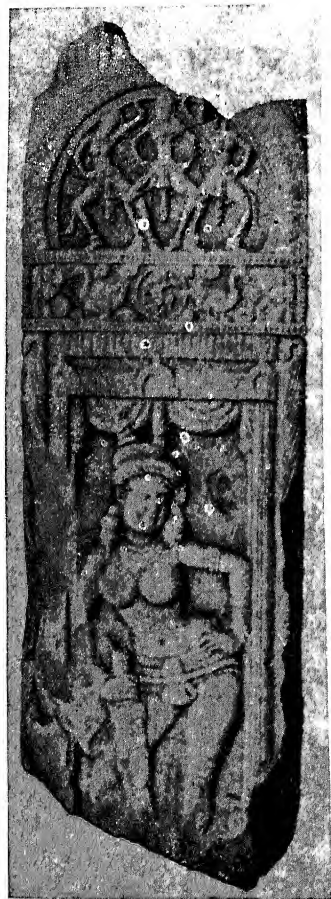


Plate XLI : PILLAR WITH PRATIHARI, Nagarjunakonda



Plate XLII : COPING STONE, Amaravathi



Plate XLIII : DIVISION OF RELICS, Nagarjunakonda



Plate XLIV : MITHUNA ON MAKARA, Nagarjunakonda



Plate XLV : MITHUNA ON MAKARA, Nagarjunakonda



Plate XLVI : MITHUNA ON MAKARA, Nagarjunakonda

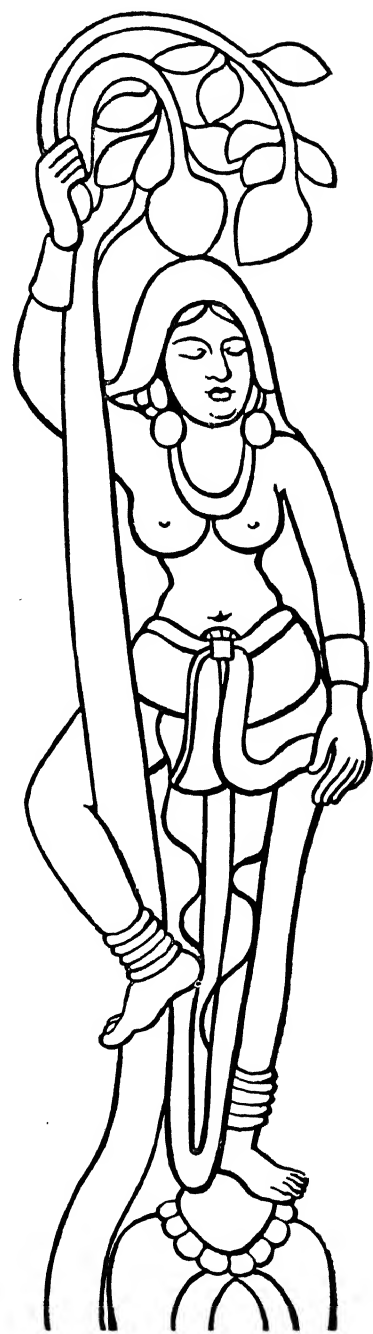


Fig. 19 : SALABHANJIKI,
Bharhut

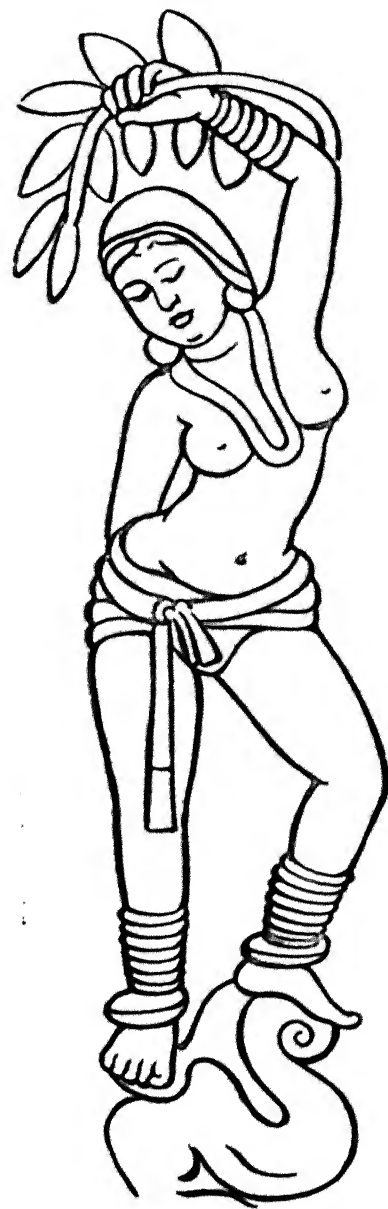


Fig. 20 : SALABHANJIKI,
Bharhut



Fig 21: SAALABHANJIKI, Bharhut

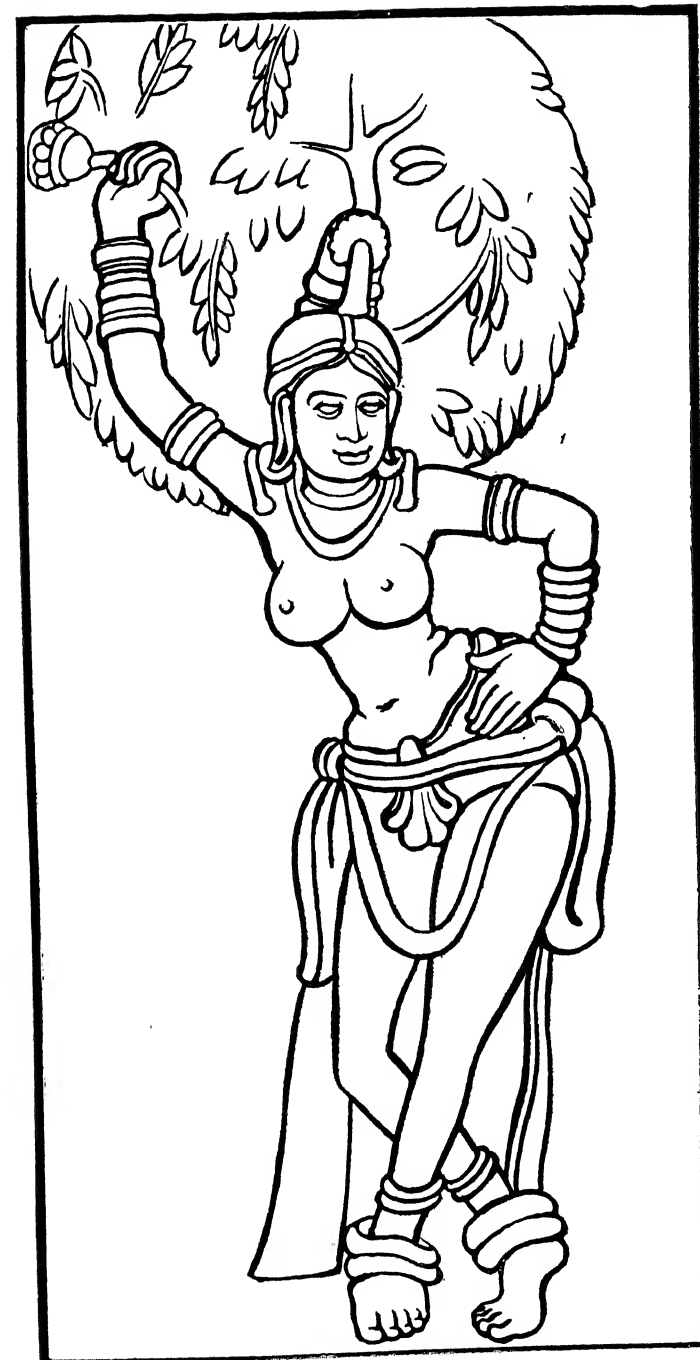


Fig. 22: SAALABHANJIKI, Nagarjunakonda



Fig. 23: FIGURE WITH QUILTED TUNICS,
Nagarjunakonda



Fig. 24: MITHUNA IN TUNICS, Amaravathi

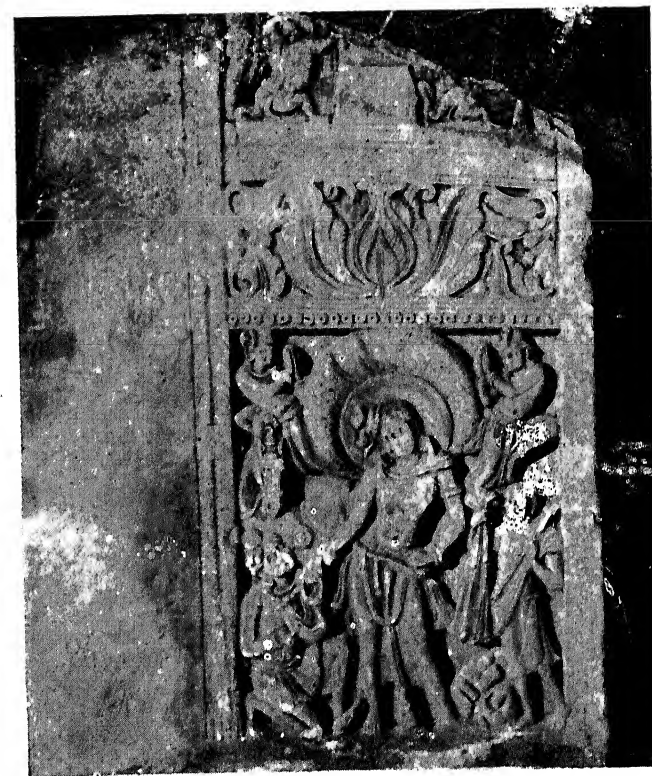


Plate XLVII : PRINCE SIDDHARDHA'S
RENUNCIATION



Plate XLVIII : STUPA SLAB, Amaravathi



Plate XLIX : RETURN OF BUDDHA, Goli



Plate L : CHADDANTA JATAKA, Goli



Plate LI : SUBJUGATION OF NALAGIRI, Goli



Plate LII : MITHUNA, Goli



Plate LIII : MITHUNA, Goli



Fig. 25 : YAKSHI, Goli

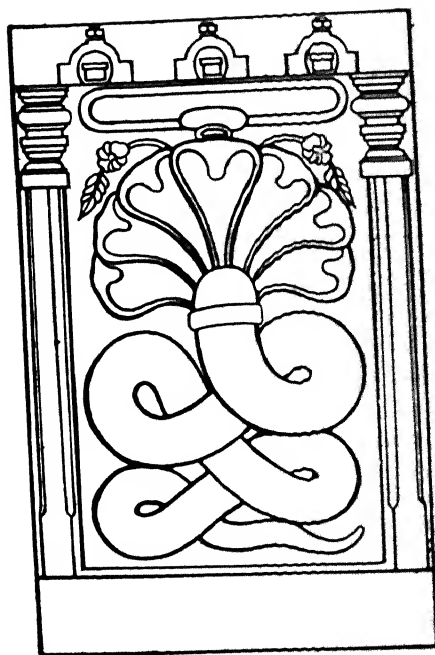


Fig. 26 : COILED NAGA, Goli



Fig. 27 : SEATED BUDDHA, Amaravathi



Fig. 28 : SEATED BUDDHA,
Nagarjunakonda



Fig. 29 : SEATED BUDDHA, Nagarjunakonda

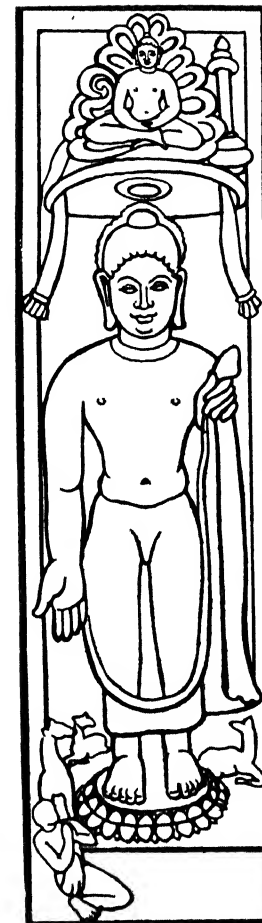


Fig. 30 : STANDING
BUDDHA,
Rami Reddypalli



Plate LIV : STANDING
BUDDHA,
Rami Reddypalli



Plate LV : STANDING BUDDHA, Alluru



Plate LVI : STANDING BRONZE IMAGE OF BUDDHA, Buddhavani



Plate LVII : STANDING BRONZE IMAGE OF BUDDHA, Buddhavani

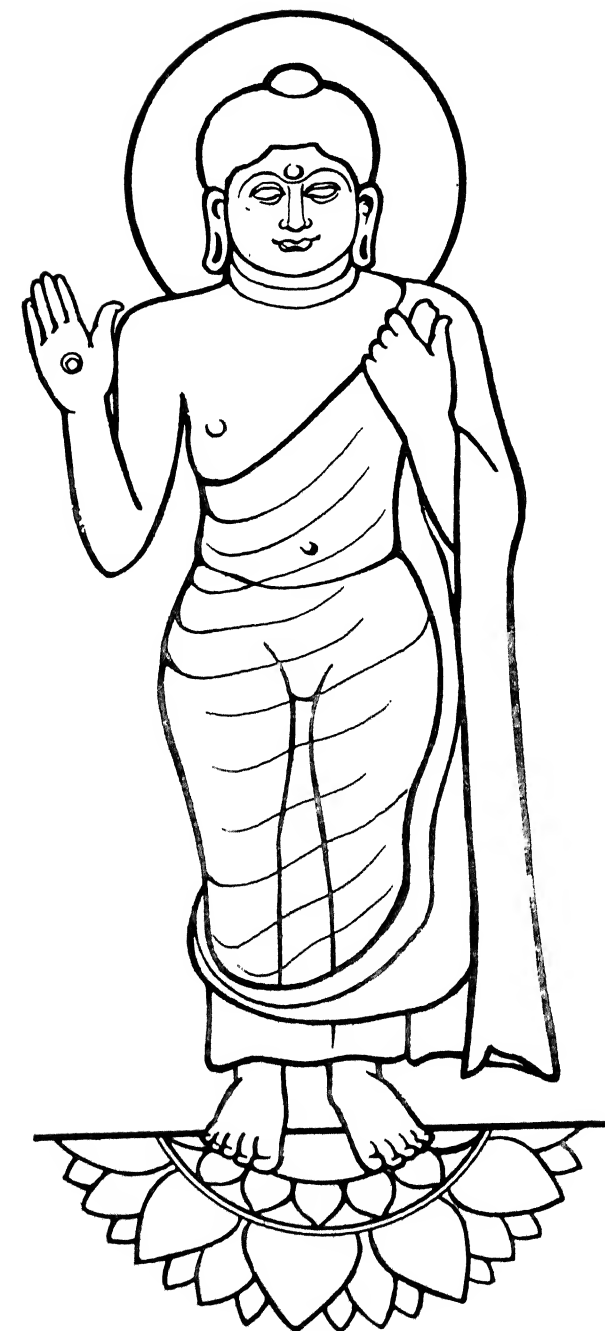


Fig. 31 : STANDING IMAGE OF BUDDHA, Amaravathi

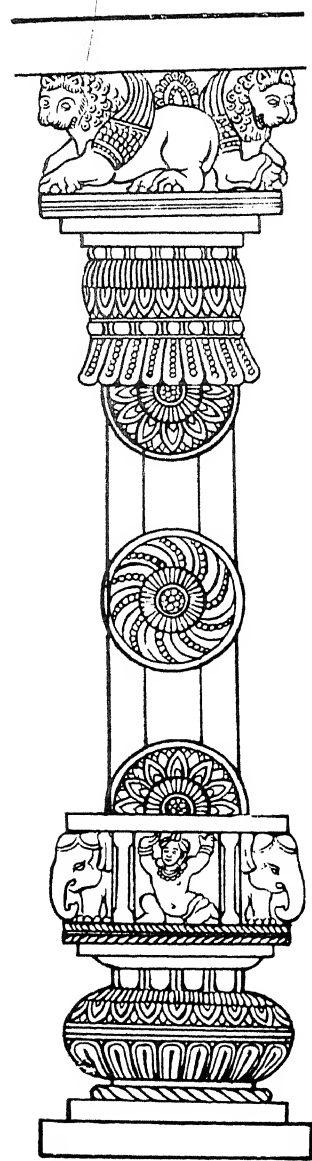


Fig. 32 : ARCHITECTURAL
PILLAR

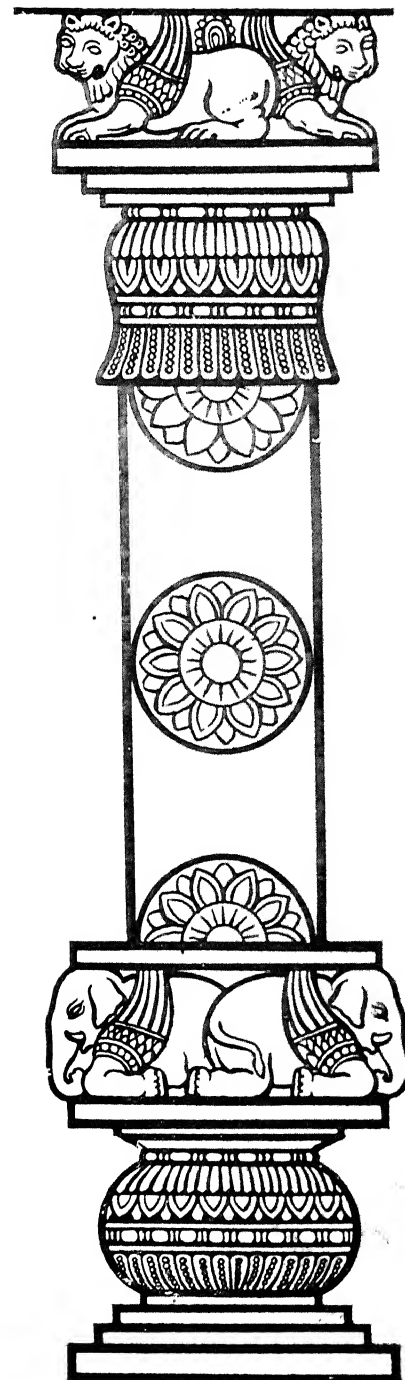


Fig. 33 : ARCHITECTURAL
PILLAR, Amaravathi

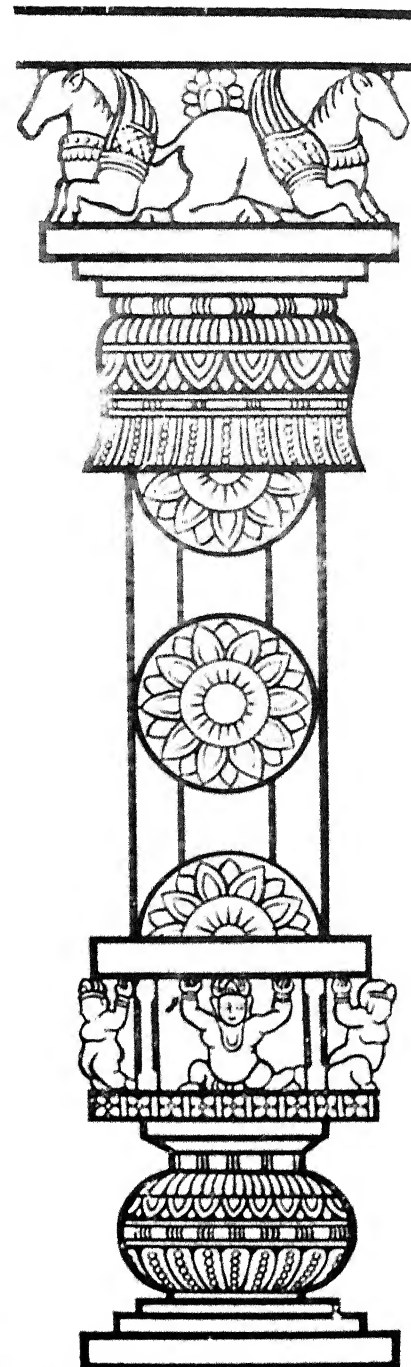


Fig. 34 : ARCHITECTURAL PILLAR

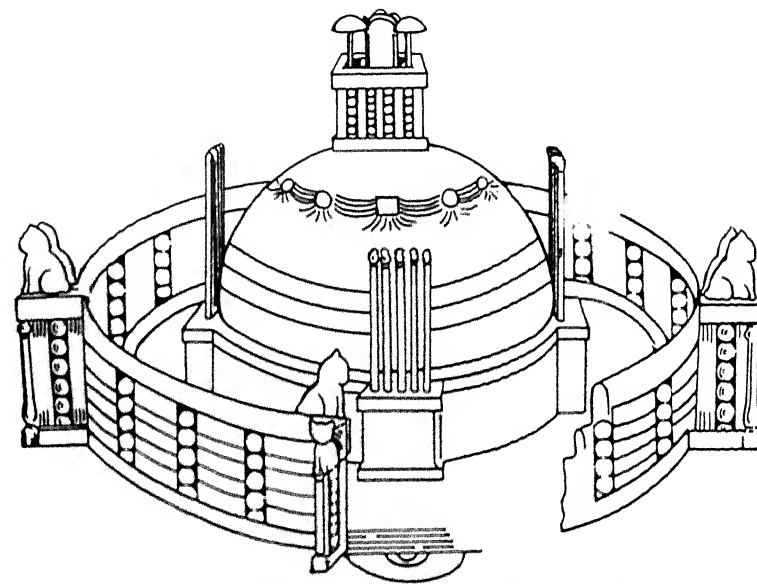


Fig. 35 : SKETCH OF AMARAVATHI STUPA
CONJECTURAL RESTORATION



Plate LXI : CROSS MEDALLION,
Amaravathi

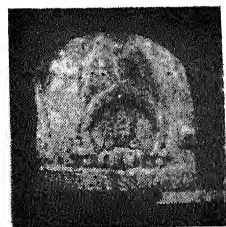


Plate LVIII : WOMAN IN KUDU WINDOW, Amaravathi



Plate LX : STUPA SLAB, Jaggayyapet



Plate LIX : STANDING WOMAN IN WUDU WINDOW, Amaravathi



Plate LXII : MEDALLION, Amaravathi

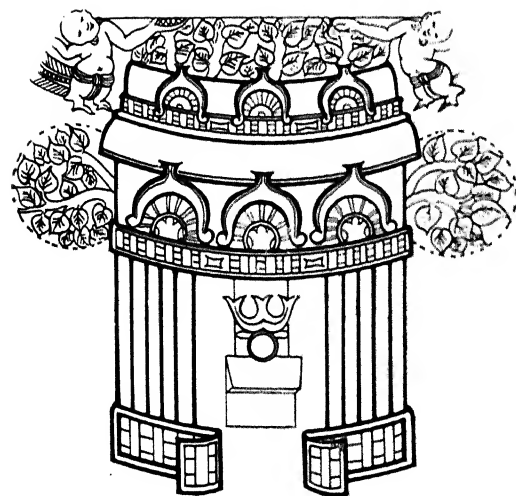


Fig. 36 : TWO STORIED STRUCTURE,
Amaravathi

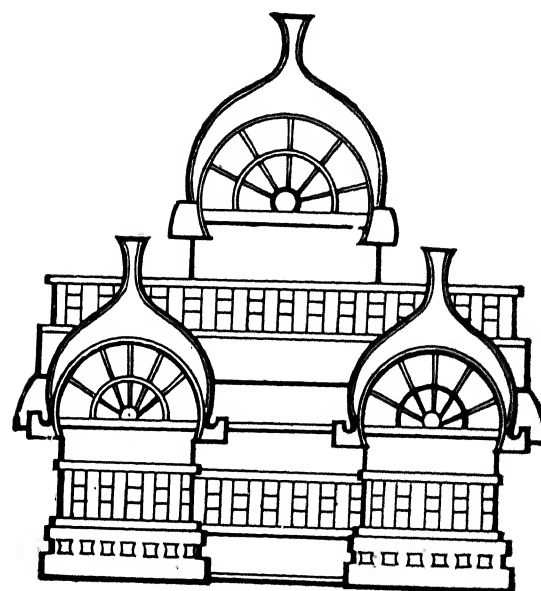


Fig. 37 : TWO STORIED STRUCTURE,
Amaravathi

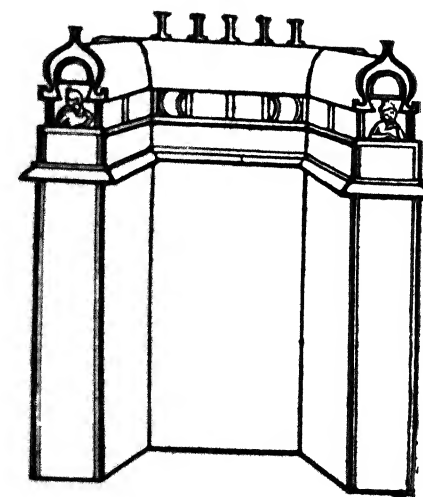


Fig. 38 : PAVILION, Amaravathi

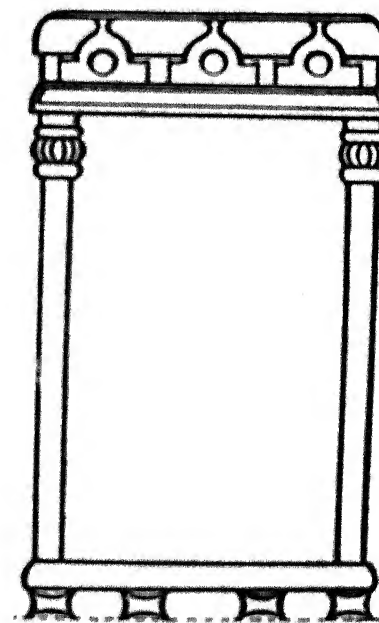


Fig. 39 : PAVILION, Amaravathi

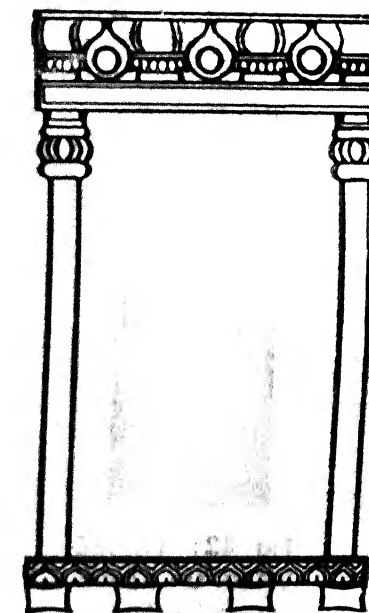


Fig. 40 : PAVILION, Amaravathi



Fig. 41: WORK OF A PANEL FRAME,
Nagarjunakonda

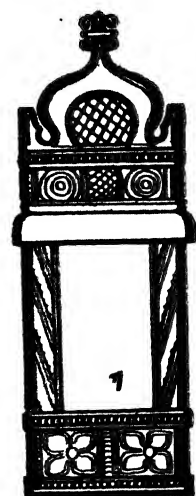


Fig. 42: FRAME-
WORK OF PANEL,
Nagarjunakonda

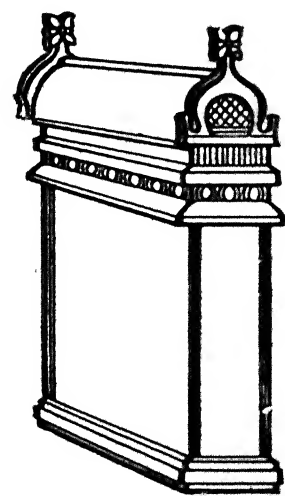


Fig. 43: FRAMEWORK
OF A PANEL,
Nagarjunakonda

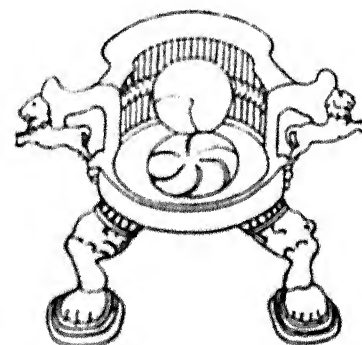


Fig. 44: THRONE OF BUDDHA
(Rangam) MUSÉE GUIMET

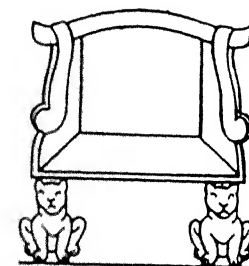


Fig. 45: SIMHASANA,
Nagarjunakonda

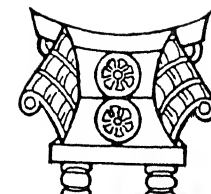


Fig. 46: SIMHASANA,
Amaravathi

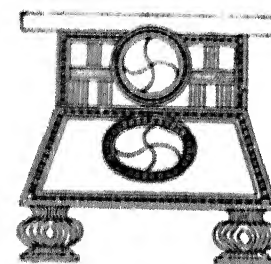


Fig. 47: SHORT LEGGED
SPAT, Nagarjunakonda

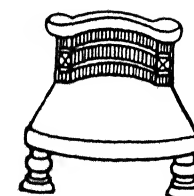


Fig. 48: LOW SEAT,
Amaravathi

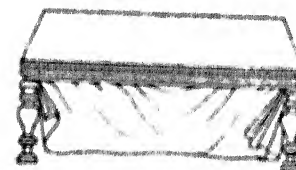


Fig. 49 a, b: BED SLED

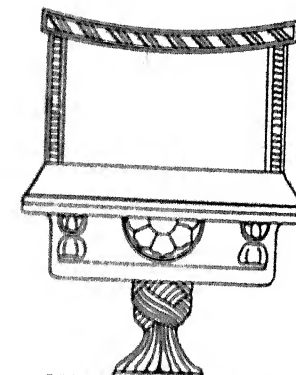


Fig. 50: UNILEGGED SEAT,
Nagarjunakonda, NATIONAL
MUSEUM, DELHI

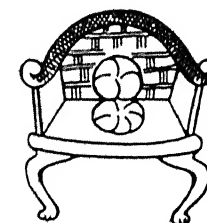


Fig. 51: CHAIR
WITH CUSHION,
Amaravathi

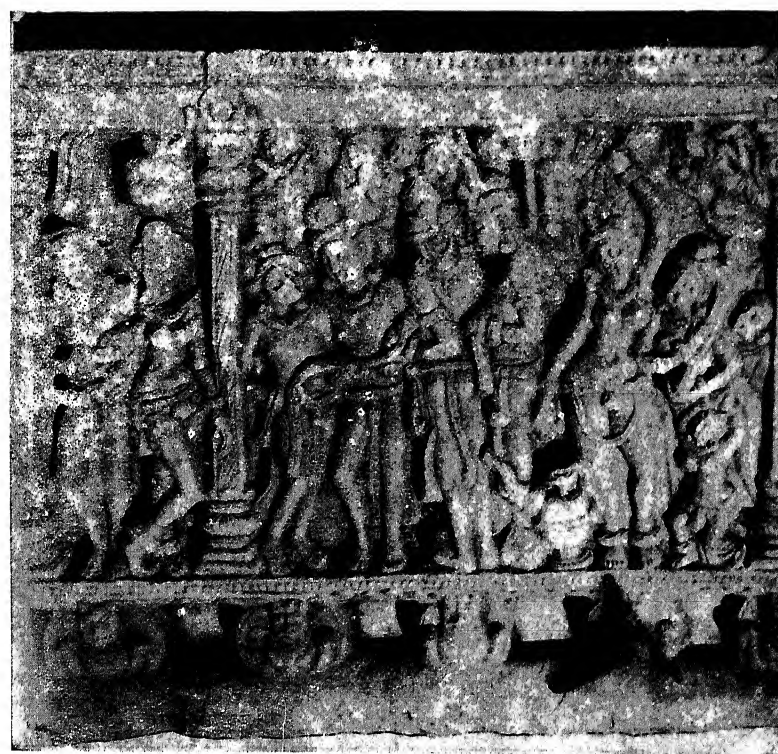


Plate LXIII : NATIVITY OF BUDDHA, Nagarjunakonda

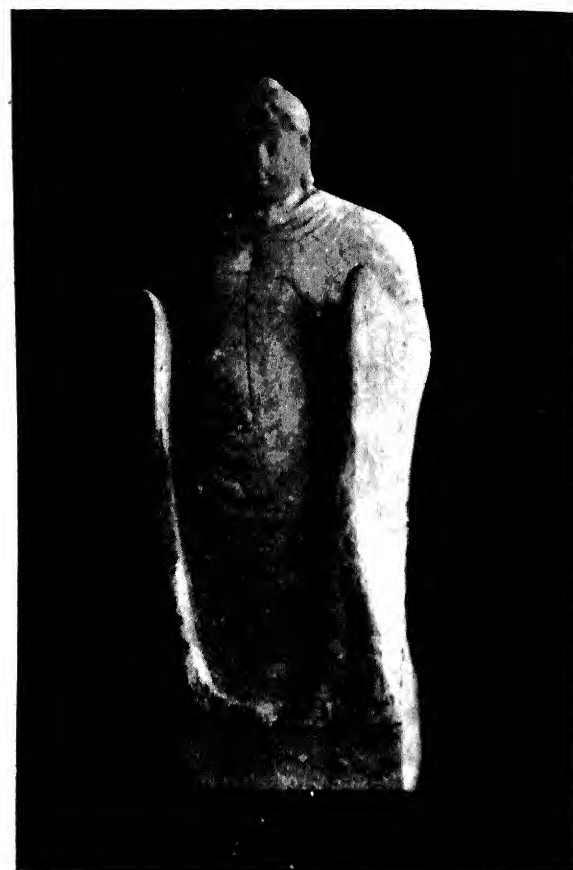


Plate LXIV : STANDING BUDDHA, Amaravathi

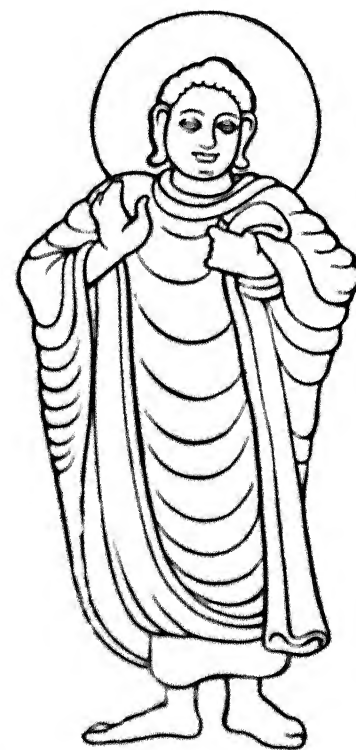


Fig. 52 : STANDING BUDDHA, Goli

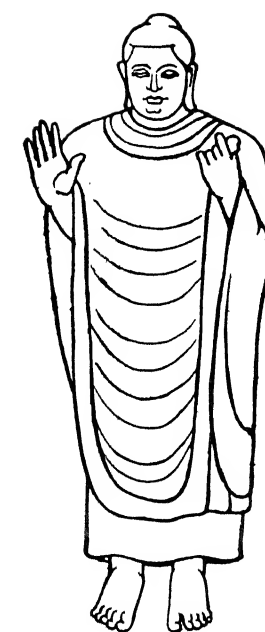


Fig. 53 : STANDING BUDDHA, Nagarjunakonda



Fig. 54 : STANDING BUDDHA, Mathura School

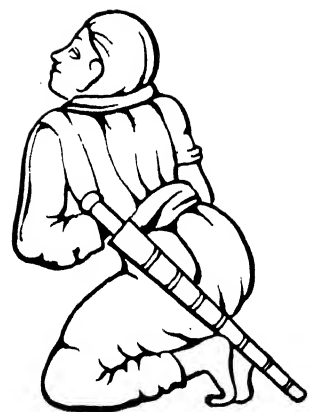


Fig. 55 : KNEELING GROOM,
Amaravathi
BRITISH MUSEUM

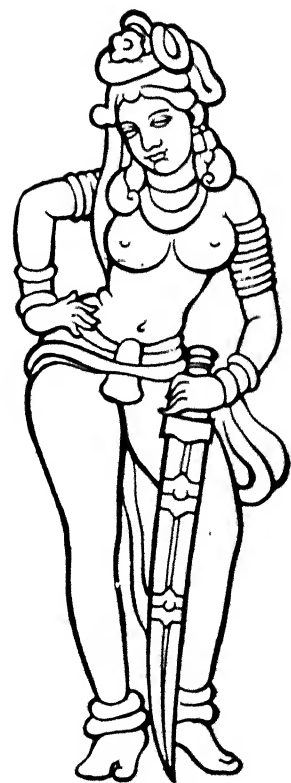


Fig. 56 : PRATIHARINI,
Nagarjunakonda

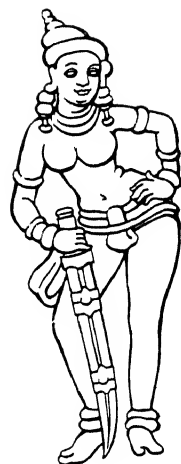


Fig. 57 : PRATIHARINI,
Nagarjunakonda



Fig. 58 : STANDING
FEMALE, Amaravathi



Fig. 59 : WORSHIPPING FIGURES,
Nagarjunakonda



Fig. 60 : SEATED FEMALES, Nagarjunakonda



Fig. 61 : SEATED FEMALE,
Nagarjunakonda

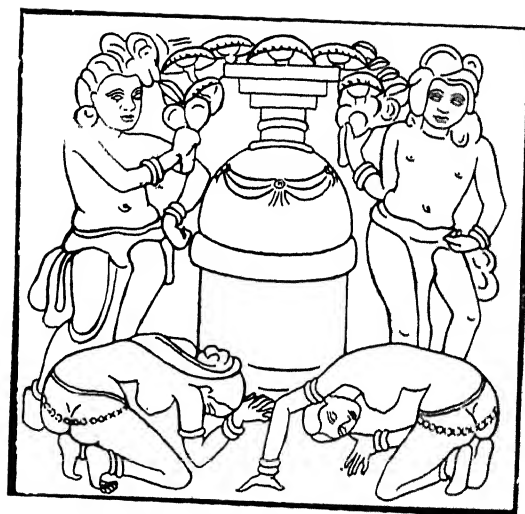


Fig. 62 : WORSHIP OF THE STUPA,
Amaravathi

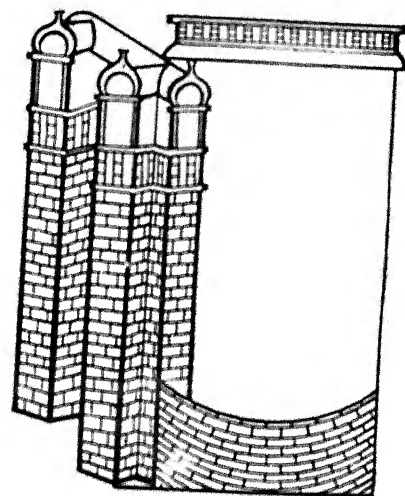


Fig. 63 : ENTRANCE GATE,
Amaravathi, Madras Museum